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# CONTENTS

OF

## No. LII.

PAGE

ART. I. A Practical Treatise on the Law of Mortmain, and Charitable Uses and Trusts. With an Appendix of Statutes and Forms. By Leonard Shelford, Esq. Barrister at Law .....	255
II. 1. America and the American Church. By the Rev. Henry Caswall, M.A.	
2. Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. By William White, D.D.	
3. Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in General Convocation held in the City of Philadelphia, from Sept. 5th to Sept. 17th, inclusive, 1838.	
4. Sermons to Presbyterians of all Sects. By G. T. Chapman, D.D.	
5. The Church of Rome in her Primitive Purity compared with the Church of Rome at the Present Day. By John Henry Hopkins, D.D.	
6. The Primitive Church compared with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Present Day. By John Henry Hopkins, D.D.	
7. The Apostolical Fathers, Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Ignatius .....	281
III. Central Society of Education. Third Publication .....	344
IV. The State in its Relations with the Church. By W. E. Gladstone, Esq. ....	355
V. 1. Letters from Lord John Russell to the Lords Lieutenants, and to the Magistrates in Sessions, and to Mayors in Boroughs, in certain Counties.	
2. Return to an Address of the Hon. the House of Commons, dated 20th August, 1839; for a Return of all Associations formed and armed for the Protection of Life and Property, under the Authority of Letters	

of the latter are often degraded, and their sacred beauty defaced by vulgar, or even grossly barbarous, contrivances, to afford room for increasing congregations.

Again, it would be highly desirable that the Church should take the lead in educating the middle and lower orders; but how can this be done out of the ecclesiastical revenues? Societies have lately sprung up in many dioceses for the purpose of carrying this great and excellent scheme into effect. But ought not the Church to be able to do this herself? Ought so important a matter to be simply left to the somewhat uncertain resources of voluntary associations? If the wisdom of our ancestors is anything, and if experience is to be regarded, we ought to wish for permanent endowments, instead of such associations as are at present all in all, which, besides the precariousness of their means, are unwieldy and difficult to govern or direct upon any steady uniform principle. Facts and reasons such as these naturally turn the mind to the consideration of the existing difficulties in the way of increasing those endowments which at present remain to the Church in this country, and especially of the statutes of Mortmain, by which they are restrained by force of law. Some inquiry into them will here be attempted: the subject is interesting and extensive, requiring, as it will, some notice of the principles of ecclesiastical endowments, both in themselves and with relation to the state, and of their history in this country.

The most important legal quality of ecclesiastical property is inalienability, a principle which sprung from the perpetuity of the visible church. The earliest records of ecclesiastical history show us the Church not merely as a multitude of people holding certain religious opinions in common, but as a society governed by the Apostles, and afterwards by apostolic men, appointed by them as their successors, who soon received the name of Bishops, which had at first been applied to Priests,\* strictly so

\* Mosheim observes, that the word *ἐπίσκοπος* is sometimes applied in the Acts and Epistles to persons who were evidently only elders or presbyters, and thence he doubts whether episcopacy is of divine institution as a distinct order. But he does not show that those elders ever exercised the apostolical power of ordination, which is the great distinctive function of episcopacy; and the name, which signifies merely an overseer, does not imply any such power; whereas we find that the apostles themselves, and *certain* persons ordained by them, such as Timothy and Titus, exercised that special power. For instance, in the general directions given by St. Paul concerning the duties and qualifications of a "bishop," there is not a word about ordination. Those precepts were addressed to both orders. But we find him giving special directions to Timothy and Titus as to the exercise of their power of ordination. Every bishop (in the ecclesiastical sense of the word) is a priest, and episcopacy is often called by the ancient writers *plenitudo sacerdotii*; and thus the apostle, in speaking of the duties common to both orders, draws no distinction between them; but this does

called, as well as to those who were invested with that plenitude of sacerdotal power which constitutes episcopacy.

Unity and perpetuity were from the very beginning fundamental principles of the constitution of the church. We find that the constant solicitude of the Apostles was directed to prevent or stifle divisions, and to keep up unity of government by authoritative decisions of doubtful questions, which from time to time arose on matters of faith and discipline. The church was considered as one family, and as it spread, the same principle was kept constantly in view. Every where a bishop was the centre of unity for those who inhabited the district allotted to him, and the bishops were all in communion with each other, and professing to follow the same rules as heads of parts of the great whole. The institution of Metropolitans, which was certainly anterior to the first Council of Nice, as the canons of that council clearly show, was framed with a view to the maintenance of that same principle of unity. When individuals set themselves up as the heads of sects, holding peculiar doctrines unsanctioned by authority, and thereby disturbed the harmony of the ecclesiastical body politic, they were summoned before a council, and condemned as innovators and breakers of the peace of the Church. At times the Church appeared in danger of breaking into sects and factions, but the promise of Divine protection was fulfilled,—the schismatics seceded, and the unity of the Church was preserved. This catholic principle of unity was closely connected with that of perpetuity. The regular and uniform constitution of churches in the first centuries, and the succession of bishops from the apostles, preserved and transmitted from one generation to another the *identity* of the church, to which through its first rulers, the apostles, distinct pledges of perpetual duration had been made.\*

This principle, which had been acknowledged as to spiritual gifts and offices from the first, was impressed upon the tenure of ecclesiastical property as soon as the cessation of persecution allowed the Christians to make endowments.

Permanency of endowments was a consequence naturally deduced from the character of a body politic, of which perpetuity and a regular succession of rulers were essential principles. When the heathen temples were inherited by the church from

not show that those whom in that part of his Epistle he comprehends under *one* name *all* exercised *the same* powers. If all had possessed the power of ordination, he would have given to all those directions respecting its exercise; which we find he gives only to Timothy and Titus. V. Hooker, Eccles. Polit. b. vii; Laucelot, Just. Jur. Canon. l. i. tit. v. princ. Not. Doujatii. See also the Decretum Dist. xxi.

\* "Let the heretics produce the *origins* of their church; let them evolve the *order* of the bishops," &c. Tertull. Præscr. § ii.

Paganism, the Roman law, by which the former state religion\* was supported and its property protected, naturally and necessarily continued its protection to things devoted to sacred purposes in that religion which had now become the religion of the state. Nor let any one be startled at the admission, that Christianity took the place of Paganism and inherited its power and office. Undoubtedly it stands related to the false system which preceded it, as the true heir does to a usurper, or the Israelites to the devoted nations whom they succeeded. Almost in all respects, in doctrines, in rites, in polity, in discipline, the church system is the divinely ordered completion, as well as antagonist, of the religions which preceded it. The worship of the true Trinity superseded the false or shadowy trinities of the heathen; the ceremonial of baptism supplanted their lustral and expiatory washings; Christ's priestly service, visibly represented in His ministers, obscured and obliterated their earthborn priesthood; and, in like manner, it is no great admission to make, that the state's relations and duties to the church resemble those which it used to observe, ignorantly but piously, towards her Pagan counterfeit. Thus in the compilations of the Christian Justinian, we find the same principles of law applied to church property, whether consecrated or not, which had formerly defined the legal nature of the heathen temples and endowments. And hence those principles, though originally heathen, yet, as being the first laws that regulated ecclesiastical property when the Christian Church was publicly recognized by the civil power, are deserving of something more than transitory notice.

In the classification of things by the Roman law, sacred things, that is to say, things consecrated by a bishop, or in more ancient times by a heathen pontiff, were placed under the head of *res nullius*, or things not the property of any one.† They were called *res nullius*, not in the same sense as things not appropriated, which might be acquired by occupation, but because they were held not to be under the dominion of any person or body politic. They were devoted, not to a person, but to a purpose. They were said to be *non humani sed divini juris*, and were in a manner held to be the property of Heaven,‡ in a special and peculiar manner.

There is profound wisdom in the principle, that a thing may be

\* *Publicum jus in sacris, in sacerdotibus, in magistratibus consistit.* Pand. l. i. § 2. tit. De Just. et Jur.

† L. 1 princ. Pand. tit. De divis. rerum et qual.; l. 6, eod. tit. § 2; Inst. eod. tit. pr. & §§. sequ.

‡ This latter doctrine may have been the origin of the practice of bequeathing legacies to God, or to Christ, which we find mentioned in the 131 Nov. Const. cap. ix. and in other parts of the *Corpus Juris*.

so devoted to a purpose as to be legally incapable of being alienated therefrom,—though it is not vested in any man or body of men. When the incumbent is dead and no successor appointed, in whom is the Church vested? Our law answers, that the freehold is in abeyance, but the principles of the civil law will, as Lord Hale asserts frequently to be the case, afford a more satisfactory solution of the difficulty. Things consecrated are, at all times, in truth, the property of no one, but they are devoted to a purpose.

The laws of property are a part of the secondary law of nature, and derive their sanction from the institution of society, which secures to every man that which he has acquired by different modes.

Society becomes in a manner a trustee. It is the duty of society to maintain the lawful appropriation of things, whether to a person or body of persons, or to a purpose. The inviolability of property does not spring from the fact of the rights of some person or corporate body suffering from its violation. The natural lawfulness of the appropriation is sufficient to impose upon society, having sanctioned it, the obligation of maintaining that appropriation; and whether property is vested in a person or persons, or is devoted to a purpose beneficial to the whole, or a part of society, there is evidently no sort of difference in principle.

The principles of the civil law respecting *res nullius* are applicable as well to other ecclesiastical property as to things consecrated; for the consecration by the Pontiff was no more than a religious sanction, added to the legal appropriation of a thing. It was also the mode or form of accomplishing the appropriation. Besides, it is hardly necessary to remind our reader, that among the ancient Romans all ecclesiastical property was consecrated by the pontiffs.

If we add to these principles those which spring necessarily from the connexion of the Church with the State, we shall show still more evidently the inaccuracy of a common doctrine, that, provided the rights of present incumbents are respected, it is sufficient.

The State is evidently bound, in a special manner, to protect and maintain the endowments of the Church which is sanctioned by the law, for it is bound to uphold all other appropriations which are not unlawful. Now it is not the rights of incumbents which the State is bound to respect, but the appropriation of certain things to a purpose. Those things are only technically the property of such incumbents. These are *res nullius*. They are devoted to a purpose which a large part of the community hold to be of the highest nature. They are devoted to a purpose

the sacredness of which the State itself expressly recognizes. These are principles as important as the rights of present incumbents, or vested rights, for they rest upon the foundations of the laws of property.

We are, however, not now arguing for the absolute inalienability of Church property, considered in this point of view, or its total exemption from regulation by the sovereign power of the State. Such positions have not been successfully maintained even in Romanist countries. But we do maintain that the mere vacancy of a benefice, or dignity, does not render it less sacred, on principle, than when it was full; though in the latter case there is an additional reason of equity for respecting its endowments which are legally vested in the incumbent, who would suffer from being deprived of them. We would contend, that though the Church is not a body politic in law, capable of holding property as such, the principles of public law are the same so far as regards the inviolability of her property, as if she were technically invested with the capacities of a corporation. Church property is set apart and appropriated to ecclesiastical purposes as much as the property of any corporation is vested in that body.

The principle of the dedication of property to sacred purposes, which, as we have said, is a natural consequence of the perpetuity of the Church, was thus sanctioned by the civil law of the Roman empire. The Church, however, had possessed land long before it was recognized by law, even so early as the third century;\* but in the early ages, it was chiefly maintained by the voluntary contributions of the faithful, which were received by the bishop, and by him distributed to the clergy, reserving a share for his own maintenance. But those, who know any thing of the strict discipline of the ancient Church, must clearly see that this mode of supporting the clergy was very different from what is now technically called the voluntary system. The faithful were bound to provide for the maintenance of the Church, not indeed by law, but by the discipline of the Church itself, the *obligatory force* of which was as great as that of any law. Christians were *forced* to be voluntaries. No man could become a dissenter, without becoming excommunicate; and remaining in the Church, he was of course bound by her regulations and customs. Every Christian was bound by the most sacred obligations to contribute to the support of that society, through the institutions of which *alone* he received the sacraments and the consolations of religion. But to return to our immediate subject;—in the earliest times certain places were devoted to divine worship; and indeed Van Espen argues, with some force, from St. Paul's injunction to the

\* Hericourt, Loix Eccles. Par. IV. Diss.; id. Par. II. Diss.



Corinthians, "have ye not houses to eat and drink in, or despise ye the Church of God," that even in the apostolic times there were certain public places in which the sacred mysteries were performed.\* This opinion is supported by the authority of St. Basil and St. Augustine. These places were consecrated in very ancient times, for the consecration of churches is mentioned as an established rite† by Eusebius, St. Athanasius, and St. Ambrose. The ancient Christians were in the habit of resorting for prayer to the tombs of the martyrs, as places possessing peculiar sanctity, and when the cessation of persecution permitted them to build churches, they naturally raised them in those places.‡ Of course, ground rendered sacred by the bodies of the martyrs, was permanently devoted to ecclesiastical purposes. It was held a great privilege to be buried near the *martyria*, or sepulchral churches of the apostles and martyrs; so that the Emperor Theodosius, to prevent cemeteries being established in towns, forbade burials in those places; and St. John Chrysostom says, that emperors set a great value upon the honour of being buried even near the threshold of those buildings.§

The Roman law forbade burials in towns, under severe penalties, until the practice was permitted by the Emperor Leo:‖ therefore, we can only explain the law of Theodosius, above referred to, which implies that the tombs of the martyrs were frequently in towns, by concluding that their bodies must have been transferred there, or that the faithful resorted to the neighbourhood of the *martyria*, for the purpose of living near those consecrated spots.¶ The eloquent account given by St. Chrysostom of the extraordinary honours with which the body of St. Ignatius was conveyed from the place of his martyrdom to Antioch, his see, is well known, as having been used by the Romanists, among many other ancient narrations, to justify their superstitions re-

\* Van Espen, Par. II. sec. i. tit. v. De Celebr. Miss.

† Van Espen, Par. II. sec. ii. tit. i. § i. ii.

‡ Hericourt; Van Espen, tit. cit. § xiii. xiv. Cardinal Bona derives from this interesting fact the custom prevalent from at least the fourth century of making use of the relics of saints in the consecration of churches. The custom, however, as described by the cardinal, appears very superstitious and objectionable.

§ Van Espen, Par. II. sec. iv. tit. vii.

‖ Voet. ad Pand. tit. De Sepulcr. Viol. § ii. Justinian had previously permitted burials in monasteries and convents in towns. The Christian emperors permitted the burial of the saints in towns. Van Espen, Par. II. sec. iv. tit. vii. § viii.

¶ By the Roman law the burial of a dead body made a place *religiosum* or holy, (l. 2. § De Relig. et Sump. Funer.) and this principle may have been applied by the Christians to the places to which the bodies of the saints were carried. This may also serve to explain the origin of consecrating churches by means of the relics or bodies of the saints, mentioned in a former note. In the Law 44, de Relig. the very word *reliquiæ* is used by Paulus.

specting relics,\* and to palliate the abuses which pollute so many of their churches.

It is highly probable that the desire of the primitive Christians to be buried near the *martyria*, gave rise to the custom of burying near churches generally, of which we find no traces among the pagans.† It must soon have prevailed universally after the Emperor Leo permitted burials in towns.

Such were the first beginnings of ecclesiastical landed property. Endowments by gifts and legacies naturally followed. The Emperor Constantine sanctioned such pious disposal of land by a law;‡ but there is no doubt, as we said above, that the Church possessed landed endowments before that time, though without such sanction. The whole of the revenues of the Church still remained at the disposal, and subject to the administration of the bishop, who distributed them among the clergy, reserving portions for himself, for the poor, and the purposes of divine worship.§ It was not before the fifth century that certain estates were assigned to particular clerks to be held as benefices; first, for their lives, but afterwards as permanently annexed to a church, chapel or dignity. From that time a great change took place in ecclesiastical endowments. The quadripartite division of revenues by the bishop gradually fell into disuse, and the property of the Church became portioned out into benefices, to which specific duties were attached.||

It is doubtful when the revenues of the Church first became inalienable by the bishop. The council of Carthage, held in the year 398, absolutely prohibited alienations, except by the primate, assisted by a certain number of bishops, and for specified causes. A decree in Gratian's compilation,¶ the date of which is uncertain, but which Van Espen attributes to the sixth or seventh century, restrains the bishop from alienating Church property, except with the assent of the clergy, and for the manifest good of the Church. This decree, and many others of popes and synods, which are to be found in the *Decretum*, the *Decretals*, and other parts of the canon law, established the almost entire inalienability of Church property. These restrictions were also sanctioned by Imperial Constitutions,\*\* and the civil law, considering ecclesiastical bodies in the light of persons under legal inca-

\* Wiseman's Lectures, Lect. XIII.

† Van Espen, Par. II. sec. iv. tit. vii. § xi.

‡ L. i. Cod. de Sacros. Eccles.

§ Van Espen, Par. II. sec. iv. tit. v.; Alberti Tract. de Sac. Utensil. c. i. 2.

|| Van Espen, Par. II. sec. iii. tit. i.

¶ Caus. 12, Quæst. 2, Can. 52.

\*\* Cod. l. xiv.--xvii. et al. De Sac. Eccles.

capacity, granted to them the same relief as to lunatics and minors.\* Those bodies were of course in many cases also subject to peculiar rules and statutes restraining alienations, as well as to the restrictive conditions annexed to donations by founders and benefactors.

Laws so consonant with the views of the clergy and the principles of the Church were of course zealously supported and encouraged by the ecclesiastical and civil power. They were probably necessary for the consolidation of the Church; and if the Church had not possessed the political power which was inseparable from the enjoyment of landed property, it is doubtful, humanly speaking, whether it could have resisted the shocks from which even the influence of superstition did not exempt it in lawless times of barbarism. It seems to have been necessary that the Church should have power, riches, and even pomp, to exercise over semi-barbarous kings and nations that Christian influence the benignant effects of which we frequently see in history, and to which we in a great degree owe the revival of civilization and learning.

That the wealth and power of the clergy produced luxury and corruption, cannot be denied; but this only proves that Providence, not disdaining human means, as in other similar instances, did not separate from them their human imperfections.

It does not appear as if the law of England added its sanction to the restraints upon the alienation of ecclesiastical property; and until the enactment of the disabling statutes in Queen Elizabeth's reign, which restrained ecclesiastical and eleemosynary corporations from every mode of alienation, except leasing,† they were allowed to alien their land as freely as individuals.

It is, however, probable that the principles of ecclesiastical law, which we have mentioned above, were in practice adhered to in the Church, and an oath was administered to the heads of capitular and monastic bodies on their election, not to alienate the property of the Church. The legal nature of Church property was such, that the law of the state was not needed to prevent its being alienated or secularized. The principle, that Church property is not belonging to the clergy, but dedicated to the purposes of religion, was acted upon as a corner-stone of ecclesiastical public law.

The Canon Law considers a clerk as in bondage to the Church, and for that reason applies the term *peculium* to the portion of ecclesiastical revenues appropriated to the maintenance of the

\* Voet, lib. xxvii, tit. x.

† Cruise Dig. tit. xxxii. ch. ii, § 2.

clergy.\* Thus, like the *peculium* of a slave in the civil law, the mere administration of the revenues belongs to the clerk, while the real dominion is vested in the Church. Every emolument arising from Church property belongs to the Church, and on the death of the clerk returns to it instead of being inherited by his family. *Qui servit altari de altare vivat*, is the maxim of the canon law, which acknowledges no right to the enjoyment of ecclesiastical revenues in those who do not serve the altar. Thus sinecures merely for the emolument of those who hold them, are contrary to the spirit of the ecclesiastical law.

We must intreat indulgence of many excellent and zealous defenders of the Church in this day, while we are obliged by the force of facts to destroy the ingenious theories on which they would rest her establishment. If then we are content to take history for our guide, we shall find that ecclesiastical dignities were not intended to allure men of rank, or wealth, or high secular prospects, into the service of the Church. They were not intended as prizes in a lottery, or even to afford learned leisure to studious men unincumbered by sacerdotal duties. We defy those who take these very temporal views of Church endowments to prove from any ecclesiastical writer or canonist, that such considerations were ever entertained by the fathers and founders of the Churches. On the contrary, we everywhere see the doctrine of strict appropriation of revenues to sacred purposes. We find nothing about providing for families, and gratifying pecuniary ambition. Those things are blamed and repudiated. The Church is always held to be the true proprietor of the endowments, while the clergy are but servants receiving maintenance, for no other reason than because they devote themselves to the service of the altar.

Even where the Ecclesiastical Law invests a prelate with magnificence and power, it is to exalt the Church by means of what is visible—to add solemnity to her services—and to do honour to God through His servants—but not for the purpose of rendering holy orders a desirable or profitable profession, in a temporal point of view,—or even of rewarding meritorious ecclesiastics, who ought to look for far higher objects. We do not say that the comforts and temporal welfare of the clergy is not a fit object for the law to be employed about; we contend against that selfish and purely temporal aspect in which ecclesiastical institutions have lately been regarded. We deprecate the prominent manner

\* Van Espen, Par. II. sect. iii. tit. i. § 4. 6. The tonsure was originally intended as a badge of bondage. Hericourt attests this fact. This explains why persons who had taken a vow shaved their heads.

in which a purely professional view of the clergy has been brought forward, and the vulgar notions of the respect due to personal riches made a principle on which an ecclesiastical statesman is to legislate. It is surely most low-minded to bring down the policy of the Church to a level with the vulgarity of petty traders, who conceive nothing respectable but wealth, together with ease or comparative idleness, instead of endeavouring to raise the tone of public feeling to the noble principles of the Ecclesiastical Public Law. If these selfish views had prevailed among our ancestors, we should not now possess those noble monuments of their piety, which still are a honour to our Church and our country. Our sacred fabrics would be mean or homely, while on the other hand, many opulent families would be tracing their descent to the nearest relatives of churchmen enriched by the violation of those principles of self-abnegation, on which the laws of ecclesiastical property are founded.

The enactments of the temporal law were not needed, to cause the great accumulation of property in the hands of the Church during the Middle Ages. The Church was sufficiently free from private feelings, cupidity, and ambition, to hinder its dissipation at the hands of her individual ministers, who had the use of it. It may be observed, that the statutes of Elizabeth which imposed the first secular restraints upon the alienation of Church property, were framed principally to protect the Church, not from the malversation of churchmen, but from the rapacity of the crown. The only other species of protection intended by these statutes, was rendered necessary by the remarkable state of the Church under Queen Mary, when the Romanist bishops endeavoured to impoverish the sees which they knew that they must soon resign to the prelates of the Church of England.\* The peculiar circumstances under which Elizabeth succeeded to the crown, rendered it desirable that she should obtain the support of the Church, and this accounts for the protection thus given by statute to its patrimony. But till then it was unnecessary; the Church did not need to be protected against herself; and enemies were not in a condition to injure her. The principles of ecclesiastical law, such as we have described them, were pretty well understood on both sides.

The original acquisition of the great mass of landed property, for which the Church in this country has been remarkable, is to be traced to the mode in which Christianity was propagated in England at and after the time of St. Augustine. At that period a great proportion of the larger monastic bodies were founded.

\* Reeves, *Hist. of Eng. Law*, vol. 5, p. 26.

St. Augustine, being a monk, naturally favoured those institutions, and availed himself of their peculiar fitness to accomplish the purpose for which he came to England. When St. Augustine was sent by Gregory the Great, the secular clergy had been proved unable to accomplish the conversion of England. They were necessarily wanting in union, organization, obedience, and learning. The monastic communities, on the contrary, were in a perfect state of discipline, bound by vows of obedience, and cultivating in common and by joint efforts those branches of learning which were necessary for the due performance of their duties. This latter circumstance was not unimportant at any time before the invention of printing, but especially at that early period when the acquisition of learning by an insulated individual was almost impossible.

However, the principal reason which renders the monastic orders so powerful to propagate the doctrines of the Church, is the total abnegation of self, which it is the object of their statutes to produce in every individual member of their communities. It is the merging the individual in the corporate character, and thereby, as well as by the principle of implicit obedience, making a more or less large body of men act as one man, so far as regards the unity and consistency of their action, but with all the power and abundance of means belonging to a multitude. This is the principle on which all military bodies are constituted, and it is equally applicable to the production of moral and physical results. It would have been difficult to devise a more efficient means of converting a people so difficult to manage as the Anglo-Saxons than the monastic orders and communities.

We cannot wonder, then, that the piety of the Saxon kings heaped favours upon those bodies to whom they owed such inestimable benefits. The Clergy naturally inculcated with all their power the duty of encouraging those institutions which they had seen produce such great results. People were as zealous in those days for the increase and prosperity of the monastic institutions, as they now are in the cause of Bible Societies, Church Missionary Societies, and the innumerable other religious associations which fill our newspapers with their advertisements, appeals to the public, and speeches.

In those days, as in ours, there was an evident insufficiency of the parochial clergy alone to produce certain given results. The principle of association, of which we have seen, and daily see, the power exemplified in societies—charitable, learned, and religious—as well as in a multitude of other bodies constructed for various purposes in peace and war, was well understood by the founders of the monastic orders. Without those institutions the Church

would hardly have been sufficiently strong to perform all the duties required of her; and their founders were deservedly numbered among the chief benefactors of religion.

The power and revenues of the religious houses, however, soon increased beyond what was requisite for the furtherance of their legitimate objects, and then commenced the abuses of monachism. And now we come to the immediate subject which has led to these remarks.

The feudal polity was the first cause of the laws restraining Ecclesiastical bodies from acquiring land. We find nothing in the older writers about the impolicy of tying-up land in perpetuity, to which the statutes of mortmain have since been attributed. The reasons given for those restraints in the books and the preambles of the statutes are always, that the holding of land by bodies having perpetual succession deprived the lords of the advantages of tenure.\* Moreover, land was frequently held by the clergy in frankalmoigne, and by tenure of divine service, which being purely ecclesiastical tenures, the military constitution of the realm was injured by the loss of the services of their tenants.†

It is remarkable that though alienations to *religious men* were sometimes forbidden before that time in the charters by which the land was held, the first statute of mortmain was not enacted before the ninth year of Henry III. ‡

The statute in question (9th H. III., c. 36) merely restrains tenants of other lords from transferring their tenure by a fictitious process to religious houses. That contrivance enabled the tenant, under pretext of some forfeiture, surrender, or escheat, to give his land to the monks, notwithstanding the prohibitive clause in his charter. All religious houses and ecclesiastical bodies were corporations having perpetual succession by their very nature. An express clause in a charter was not held necessary to confer that privilege before the fifteenth century.§ This statute, however, applied only to the regular clergy. It would be beyond our purpose to lay before our readers here the history of the successive statutes by which the prohibitions of the mortmain law were applied to all ecclesiastical bodies and persons, and the numerous ingenious contrivances resorted to for the purpose of evading those prohibitions were frustrated. It will be sufficient for us to show the policy and effect of those enactments, and the general state of the law as it at present exists.

A check upon the increase of the regular clergy must have been

\* Kyd on Corporations, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

† Co. Litt.

‡ Kyd on Corporations, vol. i. p. 80.

§ Palgrave, Progr. of Brit. Commonw. part i. p. 161.

very desirable for the welfare of the Church itself. The monks were originally mere lay-men, bound by vows to undergo austerities, and perform duties of a more severe and ascetic nature than those which, by the discipline of the Church, were incumbent on the rest of the laity. They were, consequently, subject to the authority of the bishops, in the same manner as other laymen. The Emperor Marcian, in the fifth century, suggested to the Council of Chalcedon the necessity of placing the monastic societies under episcopal jurisdiction, in the same manner as the clergy, because of their interference in ecclesiastical and secular matters, whereby the regularity and good government of the Church were injured. By the 4th Canon the Council enacted, that no monastery should be erected without the consent of the bishop, and that the monks should be subject in the strictest manner to episcopal government. This law was confirmed by the 67th and 123rd Novels of Justinian, and by several Councils and Synods both Latin and Greek.

In the sixth century privileges and immunities began to be obtained\* by founders, to protect their monasteries from the exactions, and sometimes arbitrary acts of the bishops. They were granted by the bishops themselves, and confirmed by synods, popes, or princes. These privileges, however, regarded certain special points, and did not deprive the bishop of his governing jurisdiction over the monks. But the principle of privileged bodies once introduced was soon carried to such lengths as to injure episcopal government. Privileges were followed by exemptions strictly so called, and the spread of monastic orders then became dangerous to the apostolical constitution of the Church. In the eleventh century the exemption of monasteries from the jurisdiction of the bishops commenced, and we find St. Bernard strongly protesting against† that infringement of the ancient policy of the Church. That great man even wrote in strong terms to Pope Eugenius III., expostulating with him against the granting of exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction. Similar complaints were made (through his chancellor, Peter of Blois,) by Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, to Alexander III. The Councils of Lateran, under Alexander III. and Innocent III., in vain added their representations to those of many illustrious prelates.‡ We have the authority of Cardinal Baronius for saying,

\* Van Espen, par. iii. tit. xii. cap. 2 and 3.

† Vide Van Espen, par. iii. tit. xii. cap. 4, per tot. ; and Henricourt, *Loix Eccles.*, chap. Des exemptions, &c.

‡ The abbots in some cases obtained permission to use the mitre, crozier, and other pontifical ornaments; and even to confer the four minor orders. It must be remembered that the minor orders were never held to be of Divine institution, and were consequently not included by the Church of Rome in the Sacrament of orders.



that St. Francis, the founder of the chief among the mendicant orders which sprung up in the thirteenth century, was adverse to exemptions; and that that privilege was obtained for the Franciscans by a worldly monk named Brother Elias. The other mendicant orders soon followed the example of the Franciscans, by obtaining exemptions from all episcopal jurisdiction, excepting that of Rome. Such a privilege was contrary to the principles and intention of their founders. The mendicant orders were intended to assist the parochial clergy,\* and it was natural that they should therefore be subject to the same episcopal superior. These important deviations from the wise principle of unity of government in each diocese, naturally produced such discord and irregularity in the Church, that the statutes of mortmain, whereby restraint was placed upon the increase of monastic institutions, were very beneficial, and perhaps necessary. Such a restraint was the more necessary, because it was impossible to obtain from Rome a reform of these abuses which were powerful means of increasing the papal power.

At the Council of Trent the princes and prelates of Germany prayed for a total abolition of all exemptions; and that all monasteries might be placed under the authority of the bishop in whose diocese they were situated.\* A strong report had already been made against exemptions by the prelates who were appointed under Paul III. to inquire into abuses on which the council were to legislate. But it was part of the policy of Rome not to allow any diminution of the immediate and exclusive jurisdiction of the Pope over the monks in every part of the world.

However useful this policy may have been to the usurped power of the papacy, it was too great a departure from the apostolical constitution of the Church not to be very dangerous. The great principle of ecclesiastical polity is, that episcopacy is the very corner-stone of the constitution of the Church. Associations and bodies politic within the Church may be very useful, but they must be subordinate to episcopal government, to which all things in the Church should, by virtue of its apostolical constitution, submit. Societies, whether monastic or secular, are of human, while episcopacy is of Divine, institution. The former may be useful, but the latter is necessary; and too much care can hardly be taken lest the human addition should break in upon the principle, and perhaps injure the working of the Divine institution. "Do nothing without the Bishops," was the wise precept of St. Ignatius, and it was strictly adhered to in the early ages of the Church.

\* Ptus. Bonaventura tract. Quare Fratres Minores Predicent.

† Van Espen, par. iii. tit. xii. cap. 6.

These observations, it is obvious, are very applicable to many of our present religious societies. We are told that they have episcopal sanction, because some of the bishops are enrolled among their members. But are they under the *government* of the bishops of their respective dioceses, or either of the primates? Are not the bishops indebted for their influence in those societies rather to the vote of the members, than to any distinct recognition of their exclusive jurisdiction in all ecclesiastical matters within their dioceses? Would not a majority of members conceive themselves competent to act contrary to the opinion of the bishop of the diocese? Do they not practically consider themselves as responsible to their own body alone? They judge for themselves by decision of a majority, without appeal, what doctrines are to be circulated in their publications, and taught by their preachers. They perform at their own discretion functions and duties which, being within the province of the Church, are therefore within its jurisdiction, and which ought, for that reason, to be performed in strict obedience to the Church and its rulers. The bishop being, by virtue of his office, the only arbiter of all matters touching the spiritual welfare of the people within his diocese, it is plain that for any body of persons to assume independent functions in such matters, is a violation of the very principle of episcopal government. It is a breach of the unity of Church government. It is contrary to the rules of ecclesiastical polity, and to apostolic tradition.

We should rejoice with more unmixed feelings of pleasure at such good results, as arise from the exertions of these societies, if that good were of an unmixed character, if it arose from their acting according to the principle of St. Ignatius, and submitting themselves entirely to that authority by which it was ordained from the first that the Church should be governed. Those institutions should be looked upon as additional means, at the disposal of the episcopate, and not as something distinct in themselves.

This was altogether forgotten or neglected by the papal system in the middle ages as regards the monastic orders, and had not the statutes of Mortmain put a restraint upon their increase, they would have almost overwhelmed the Church. Of their grasping and restless spirit we have strong evidence in the numerous ingenious contrivances recorded in our law books,\* by which they strove to evade those restraints; and they were aided in their encroachments by the popular opinions, too widely and broadly set forth by the clergy, respecting the efficacy of works of piety

\* Kyd on Corporations, v. i. ch. ii. sect. 1; Blackstone, vol. ii. chap. xviii.

and charity to wash out sin. Besides, there was of course much in the constitution of the monastic orders, composed chiefly of the humblest classes of society, yet invested with a venerable and sacred dignity,—poor and lowly, yet revered by the rich and great,—which strongly enlisted popular sympathy in their favour. It was the most democratical part of the Church, and yet the principles of the ecclesiastical law, inculcating humility and respect for dignities, together with the piety of the monasteries towards their founders and benefactors, rendered them by no means, in themselves, less dear to the aristocracy than to the commonalty. When the ambition of the court of Rome made them subservient to its own interest, it had in its hands one of the most powerful instruments that has been devised for attacking the liberties of the churches and the rights of secular princes. Hence the continued attempts to enforce and give effect to the acts of mortmain, up to the era of the Reformation, when the whole dispute or difficulty was closed by the abolition of the orders themselves.

If this view of the subject is tolerably correct, it will follow that with the abolition of papal supremacy the main reason in favour of the mortmain law ceased. It was obviously inconsistent with the integrity of the kingly power, that any large portion of the landed property of the country should be subject to the influence of a foreign prelate. Such an influence is even looked upon by Roman Catholic sovereigns with considerable jealousy, and, if they had their way, would probably bring about a restoration of the ancient law to a considerable extent, subjecting the monks to ordinary episcopal government.\* But, whatever complaints may still be brought against the Church in Roman Catholic countries, here, at least, the political and feudal reasons in favour of the law of mortmain have ceased with the abolition at once of papal supremacy and military tenures; and having

\* The statute of 1 Edward VI. ch. xiv. was grounded on theological reasons, as we see by the recital in its preamble. By that law, all lands given to *superstitious uses*, or for the maintenance of masses for the dead, chauntries, obits and the like, were made forfeitable to the king, though not vested in any corporation, and therefore not within the statutes of mortmain. Such appropriations of lands had, by the 23d Henry VIII. ch. x, been declared void if limited for a longer term than twenty years. These statutes were held not to affect conveyances to charitable uses (*Kyd on Corp.* vol. i. p. 98, 99; *Black. Com.* vol. ii. ch. xviii; *Cruise, Dig.* tit. xxxii, ch. ii. s. 46, 47, and xxxviii, ch. ii. s. 22): but such conveyances were, to prevent death-bed dispositions, subjected to special and strict regulation by the 9th Geo. II. ch. 36, which is often called the Mortmain Act, though improperly so, as Lord Eldon observes (*Thelluson v. Woodford*, 4 Ves. jun. 540; 4 Ves. jun. 429). The effect of these laws is that dispositions of lands to charitable uses are valid, if executed according to the provisions of the last-mentioned statute, unless in favour of corporate bodies, which are liable to the mortmain acts properly so called. What charitable uses are, is a question which has given rise to many contradictory decisions, and the subject is,

ceased, the arguments of political economists against perpetuities have been brought by judges and legal writers to fill up the void. It would not be difficult to show, that the real reasons on which our law forbade even perpetuities, were of a political nature, particularly with reference to the feudal law and the statute of treasons; yet both the law of mortmain and the law against perpetuities are now supported on grounds of political economy.

A very little reflection is however sufficient to perceive that the best arguments against perpetuities are inapplicable to the statutes of mortmain. Private property best answers the purposes of families when it is not absolutely tied up for any considerable length of time. Perpetuity of possession is by no means requisite for any private purpose. Changes take place in families which render the alienation of a patrimony necessary, and even desirable. Besides, the satisfaction of just creditors would frequently be impossible, were land absolutely tied up by perpetual entail. None of these arguments apply to property devoted to a purpose which is not private. It is absolutely necessary that, in such cases, a perpetuity should be created. The purpose to which such property is devoted, is uniform and simple, and does not therefore require the same extensive powers of disposal which at every generation are necessary with respect to private property, to provide for changes of circumstances, such, for instance, as deaths, marriages, and births. Ecclesiastical bodies and persons being incapable of engaging in trade or speculations, it is evident that mischief cannot arise to the community at large from the inability of creditors to convert their endowments into money for the payment of their debts.

These diversities appear to have been but insufficiently considered, and the inconveniences of perpetuities have been constantly brought forward in support of the mortmain law.

The 7th & 8th of Will. III. confirmed the ancient royal prerogative of granting licences to amortize land, and even extended its effect by making the licence of the crown an absolute remedy against all forfeitures whatever under the Mortmain Acts.

The crown is, however, totally unrestrained in the use of this prerogative, so that it depends upon the ministers of the day to grant or refuse a licence, and the arguments against perpetuities are often adduced as showing the grant of such licences to be contrary to the policy of the law. For these reasons, as well as

fortunately, not within our province. It must be observed that the two universities, their colleges, and the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, are excepted out of the restrictions of the 9 Geo. II. by the act itself. These exceptions are extended by the 43 Geo. III. c. 107, s. 1, to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. By 45 Geo. III. c. 101, the colleges in the universities are freed from the restrictions of the 9 Geo. II. by being permitted to purchase an unlimited number of advowsons.

to avoid the great expense of obtaining licences to alienate in mortmain, the Statutes of Mortmain have been dispensed with for various purposes to a limited extent, namely for the foundation of hospitals and workhouses\*, the augmentation† of small livings, the building of parsonage houses and new churches‡, and in favour of certain particular bodies.

We must refer our readers for the law of this subject to the very able and learned text-book, the title of which stands at the head of our article. It contains a most full and accurate digest of the complicated branch of law, the policy of which we are considering.

The operation of the statutes for the augmentation of small livings is very limited, except as regards the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, who are enabled to take lands to any extent for the purposes of their institution. A great number of acts have been passed to permit and encourage the building of new churches and their endowment, notwithstanding the Statutes of Mortmain. The most important of these vest the administration and management of the property devoted to that purpose by private founders, as well as the funds granted by parliament, in certain commissioners appointed under the Great Seal. Under their auspices much has been done, but it seems to us that a more simple, and therefore more effectual, mode of promoting the erection of new churches might have been easily devised.

The great variety of provisions contained in those acts, and the numerous amendments which they have undergone, render them a very complicated branch of law. The expense of preparing the deeds of endowment, and the difficulty of accurately following all the powers, restrictions, and provisos of the law are very considerable. In fact the duties to be performed by the conveyancer before a new church can be consecrated are both laborious and difficult. Disputes very frequently arise among the trustees, and between them and the clergyman of the parish in which the new church is to be erected, as well as the patron and the bishop, which greatly aggravate the difficulty of settling the deed of endowment. We have seen instructions to prepare a deed of endowment so as to give as little influence as possible to the bishop and the parson, and to place the new church or chapel as much as possible in the hands of the trustees. The commissioners are actuated by so strong a desire to promote the

\* 35 Eliz. c. 7, s. 27; 39 Eliz. c. 5, s. 1; 21 James I. c. 1.

† 17 Ch. II. c. 3, s. 7; 2 & 3 Anne, c. 2, s. 4; 43 Geo. III. c. 107, s. 1; 1 Geo. I. c. 36; 1 Geo. I. c. 10, s. 4; 1 & 2 Will. IV. c. 45.

‡ 17 Geo. III. c. 53, s. 10; 43 Geo. III. c. 107, s. 3; 55 Geo. III. c. 147, s. 12; 7 Geo. IV. c. 66, s. 1.

building of as many churches and chapels as possible, that they do not perhaps sufficiently resist the irregular principles and motives at which we have hinted. It is indeed difficult to say whether they are able in many cases to do so. The want of churches was, and still is, in many places so great as to cause a difficulty of objecting to the proposals of persons willing to build them. We fear that these circumstances have produced irregularities in many cases, and deviations from the sound and antient rules of ecclesiastical law. If the want of an efficient Episcopal control over the clergy has often and with reason been lamented, surely it must be most particularly felt in the case of these private foundations, constructed in many instances with the avowed object of giving power and influence to trustees over the church and the priest. Such trustees are very different from the patron of a living. They are probably the leading persons in the congregation, and in many cases may become virtually a sort of board of lay elders. They probably are representatives of a particular set of doctrines. These things may easily impair the principle of the unity of ecclesiastical government vested in the bishop. The canon law wisely defines the rights of patrons and founders, so that they cannot injure the ecclesiastical authority. The Church, with dignified humility, pays them reverence without impairing that authority for the use of which she is accountable to Heaven. It is otherwise in ecclesiastical law by act of parliament, framed upon the same principles as if a mere temporal administration were its object, and therefore out of harmony with the general system of Church government.

Such legislation is too frequently grounded not on broad principles of ecclesiastical polity, but on mere temporal views of expediency. Its authors and administrators are perhaps desirous of conciliating certain Churchmen of independent principles in or out of parliament, or of consulting the feelings of certain dissenting friends of the Church. A person judging from mere appearances would be so far misled by them, as to suppose that the grand object is to be able to say, "So many Churches have been built and consecrated within such a time." The consequence is, that the principles of Church government are lost sight of, and the subject is considered as an affair of brick and mortar. The same neglect of principles has led to the buying and selling chapels, and speculating in pews, which are but too common, especially in or about London. It becomes an object to secure a popular preacher, because his popularity raises the value of the pews and seats. These latter practices look like a most dangerous tampering with a very grave spiritual offence.

Akin to this subject is the custom arising from the same forget-

fulness of sound ecclesiastical principles, of filling spiritual offices by a sort of public competition. An arena is opened for preachers to contend in eloquence, and in subservience to the opinions of the judges of the contest. Thus popularity is made the test of fitness. A popular preacher is the person sought for. Preaching is put forward as the great duty of the clergy. The priest is merged in the preacher. The dignity of the minister of religion is compromised by his being placed before a congregation as a man striving for a temporal advantage, and relying for its attainment mainly upon their applause. The serenity of the sacerdotal office is sacrificed. Personal vanity is encouraged in the clergy, together with a species of emulation which may easily endanger their own most important interests, as well as those of the Church. We admire the principles of the monastic orders with regard to successful preaching. When a monk becomes a popular preacher, if he shows any vanity in, or seems to attach undue importance to, his success, his superior forbids him the pulpit for a time, enjoining study, meditation, prayer, and humiliation. That discipline has probably saved many from being hurried, by their own ability and eloquence, into disobedience to their superiors, and perhaps schism.

The increase of churches and chapels erected under the Church Building Acts is so great, that it is impossible to consider the peculiar nature of some of these foundations too carefully and seriously.

Some people consider that, as long as a sufficient number of churches and clergymen are provided, there is nothing else to be desired. But the means are to be considered as well as the end. When the Church is so formidably attacked by dissenters and Roman Catholics we cannot be too jealous of any irregularity in practice or discipline which may be introduced under colour of its concinnity with the circumstances of our times. We cannot too carefully guard against any, even the slightest, infringement of the ancient principles of ecclesiastical government, which the subjection of the church to the state renders doubly dangerous.

As consecration brings a new church or chapel within the provisions of the Mortmain law, none can be consecrated except under the Church Building Acts. This is the only reason which can justify the granting of licences to unconsecrated or proprietary chapels, where the founders or proprietors are unwilling or unable to go through the formalities required by those acts. Such chapels are placed as much, though not exclusively, under lay government as dissenting meeting houses. The bishop may indeed refuse or withdraw his licence, but the trustees or proprietors have the clergyman in their power, because they may shut up the chapel. Thus they have the means of calling him to account, and controlling him in a manner incompatible with

the principles of episcopal government. Besides, pecuniary motives are too much encouraged in those establishments, which are in many instances commercial speculations on the part of the shareholders or proprietors.

It appears to us, that a removal of the restraints laid upon the increase of ecclesiastical property by the Statutes of Mortmain would, by giving their full play to the laws of the church, greatly facilitate the building and endowment of churches, as well as subserve other ecclesiastical purposes of great consequence.

By the canon law the bishop may, with the consent of the parish priest and of the patron, as well as of the civil power, and even without the consent of the two former in cases of necessity, authorize the erection and endowment of any church or chapel.\* Nothing can of course be taken from the old or mother church to be given to the new one. The canon law gives the advowson to the founder or the principal founder. The restrictions of the 9th Geo. II., ch. 36, to prevent death-bed dispositions, might be applied to ecclesiastical foundations, and would be found fully sufficient to prevent abuses. The commissioners might continue to administer the funds voted by parliament, and might be authorized to give the consent of the crown to the erection of churches, if indeed such a restriction were not thought superfluous. A power should also be vested in the bishop of every diocese, with the consent of the crown, to erect new parishes in extra-parochial places.

The foundation and consecration of a church would then be divested of legal difficulties, and the extension of the clergy would be conducted upon principles perfectly safe, because in harmony with the constitution of the Church, and governed by the ancient rules of ecclesiastical law. The canon law will, on examination, be found quite sufficient to carry out all the details of this plan. The facility with which the Roman Catholics erect chapels is to be attributed in a great degree to their following this method. They are obliged to vest their chapels in trustees, which is no doubt rather inconvenient, notwithstanding the strong religious feeling and esprit de corps, which prevents the violation of such a trust, but they still feel the advantage of not being shackled by the Church Building Acts. Our churches and chapels cannot be vested in trustees, and thus placed in that freedom from the Church Building Acts and Statutes of Mortmain which is enjoyed by dissenters, unless they are unconsecrated: consecration bringing them under those laws. But the evils of

\* The mother church may by the Canon Law receive an endowment, with the assent of the bishop, for the purpose of maintaining a chapel or oratory. This would be found in most cases, if the Statute of Mortmain were repealed, the most simple and convenient way of providing additional spiritual means to a parish.



celebrating divine service in unconsecrated places, which we have already alluded to, are so great, that the increase of that practice would be extremely dangerous. Besides, it is a practice at variance with the ancient discipline of the Church, and only to be tolerated *propter necessitatem*.

The Roman Catholics find themselves much benefited by their strict adherence to the ecclesiastical law in their own internal government. Let us take warning from our enemies. Let us take care that restraints imposed by temporal law do not, like the chain hooked to the rich collar of the dog in the fable, counterbalance whatever advantage may be derived from the recognition, protection, and honour, which the Church receives from the state.

The removal of the Mortmain Acts would open a new field for extending our ecclesiastical institutions. We refer to the formation of public corporate societies of clergymen, or of laymen, subject to strict rules, and bound by the vow of obedience to the bishop, which is administered to all the clergy, for the purpose of performing, under episcopal government, those duties in populous places which are left to the irregular agency of voluntary and sometimes sectarian societies. Every body knows how powerfully such bodies have been found to act wherever they have been tried. We see this painfully exemplified in some parts of England, where Romanist monasteries have been established. Let us not neglect experience, but let us avail ourselves of that weapon to defend the Church which our enemies are bringing against it. Experience has shown us what to avoid in constituting such bodies, so as to prevent the evils which defects in monastic institutions have produced.\* Such a body would, in a populous diocese, be of most powerful assistance to the bishop. He would be able at all times and places to command the labours of these zealous men, entirely and exclusively devoted to their duties. Those among them who, being in orders, possessed learning and eloquence, would preach when and where the bishop might think their services particularly required. Others would visit the sick. They would be the nucleus and directors of charitable societies. Others would direct, visit, and form schools, under the authority of the bishop. This

\* Strict subjection to the bishop would be the first preservative against these evils. The next would be a limitation of the revenues to be devoted to the maintenance of the persons composing these bodies. This, with the obligation of performing duties, would prevent luxury and idleness. The members should all be graduates, which would insure their being men of education. They should be no otherwise bound to celibacy, or by irrevocable obligations, than fellows of colleges now are. They should be restrained with the utmost strictness from interfering in politics or other secular matters.

portion of their duties is brought very forcibly to our minds now when the question of education by, or independently of, the Church is so energetically debated. We often hear it argued, that the clergy have enough to do if they attend to their parochial duties, and that they can spare little if any time for public education. The acknowledged insufficiency of the parochial clergy is a strong argument in favour of the institutions which we now recommend.

We have heard much of normal schools. Normal schools might be most conveniently formed under the auspices of these societies. The importance of bringing up the rising generation in the bosom of the Church renders these very serious matters of consideration. It is a subject which the Church has not had the full means of dealing with. It is from superintending the education of youth that the permanency and extension of the Church may most especially be expected to follow. This has been well understood by the Church of Rome, and the Jesuits, who are high authorities in all questions of policy, have chiefly looked to that source of power. Whether the parochial clergy are sufficient to do all that should be done in this department is, at most, extremely doubtful. Bodies subject to strict ecclesiastical discipline, composed of learned, or at least well educated men, and adding to unity of action that power which associations alone can possess, are obviously eminently qualified for the task. No voluntary system of associated subscribers could be equally efficient, even if it were equally permanent.

Such institutions as we have hinted at would be a most important addition to the efficiency and power of the Church establishment. Who can say that the Church requires no reinforcements, attacked as she is not only by the irregular, though zealous and indefatigable, forces of the dissenters, but by the highly disciplined army of Rome? We must not be misled by antiquated notions of jealousy of the ecclesiastical power derived from times when the relation of the Church to the state was totally different. The danger to be feared now is the absorption of the Church into the state. That danger arises chiefly from a forgetfulness of the essential nature of the Church considered apart from its establishment by law.

People forget, that if the Church were persecuted and outlawed by the state it would remain essentially the same as when its prelates sat in king's councils and parliaments invested with high temporal honour and power. But the weakness of the Church, when compared with the difficulties against which she has to contend, is also a ground of danger. Forgetfulness of the essential nature of the Church has led to that neglect of church

principles which we have been exposing. The Church has been irregularly assisted, and unskilfully botched and patched up. Unsightly awkward buttresses and strange buildings have been added to the august fabric, which deface its beauty and the harmony of its parts, while they rather endanger than support its ancient walls.

The Church has been treated, even by her political friends, with a sort of distrust, because they continued acting upon principles the reasons of which had passed away. They have treated the Church of England as they might have acted in sound policy towards the Church of Spain. To such antiquated policy we may attribute the preservation of the Statutes of Mortmain.

In former times it was necessary for statesmen to restrain the ecclesiastical power, which threatened to exceed the boundaries essential to its nature. The Church was, in the middle ages, the bond and governing principle of the European community. It was the bond of union among nations, and the only common authority to which all were ready to appeal. It held the position which was afterwards occupied by the law of nations, and decided questions which could otherwise have been settled only by an appeal to arms. Such an eminent position was liable to abuse, and it was abused by the ambitious Popes. Increasing civilization rendered this power of the Church less necessary, and its abuse required restraints upon its increase. The Statutes of Mortmain were requisite to prevent the Church being overwhelmed with riches and temporal power. But things stand very differently now. The Church is strictly national; we have to fear, not the increase of its power, but the efforts of its enemies.

There is no danger of the Church overwhelming the state, but there is very great danger of the state absorbing the Church. The Church is not too richly endowed, but is, on the contrary, unable to keep up with the calls of an increasing population.

When the Statutes of Mortmain were enacted, the increase of the monastic orders threatened to clog the working of the Church, and impair its apostolical government by bishops. Now, on the contrary, we have no ecclesiastical communities actively engaged in the discharge of spiritual duties. Religious lay societies of subscribers, constructed upon democratical and republican principles, have taken their place, subject to no ecclesiastical government, and discharge at their own discretion duties within the province of the Church, but to the performance of which the parochial clergy are not equal.

There is now no danger of people spending extravagant sums on the construction and endowment of ecclesiastical foundations. On the contrary, it is difficult, without an appeal to Conservative

or Tory principles to obtain even the necessary contributions for which the wants of the Church so loudly call. We have no endowments of dignified bodies devoted to perpetual prayer and good works,—no building of imposing churches or cloisters,—no provision for the perpetual celebration of divine service in an unusually solemn and imposing manner. On the contrary, the object now seems to be to discover how little of our worldly substance may suffice for the performance *taliter qualiter* of the highest duties of which a human creature is susceptible.

On the whole then, we would put it to every well-wisher of the Church's prosperity among us, whether the change of circumstances to which we have adverted is not fully sufficient to justify us in saying that the Statutes of Mortmain ought to be reconsidered.

As for the arguments against perpetuities, we have already said that they are solely applicable to private property. It must indeed be admitted, that if a very large part of the landed property of a country was in Mortmain, the effect would be prejudicial. But we apprehend that nothing would be easier than to limit ecclesiastical endowments so as to prevent the possibility of such an inconvenience. Besides, when the danger seemed likely to arise, it would be time enough to provide a remedy. It is very improbable that the ecclesiastical power should become suddenly so strong as to prevent or defy restraints. When a tax is taken off, it may be difficult to lay it on again; but that is a very different case to the one which we are considering. We fear that to impose restraints and shackles on the Church will never, in our present state of society and parties, be a very difficult task. There is, however, no danger of such restraints being needed. There is no danger of ecclesiastical latifundia. There is no danger of the Church overawing the landed proprietors of the kingdom. The utmost result of a repeal of the Mortmain Acts would be to facilitate the erection of churches, to enable the Church to use new means for resisting the attacks directed against her by her enemies, and to prevent her ancient polity being corrupted or impaired by jointstock contrivances and vulgar inventions. If the Church is but allowed to act freely up to her own laws and her own ancient institutions, she will need no assistance from the ingenuity of temporal legislators, or the efforts of platform orators.

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- ART. II.—1. *America and the American Church.* By the Rev. Henry Caswall, M. A., Rector of Christ Church, Madison, Indiana. London: Rivingtons. 1839.
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4. *Sermons to Presbyterians of all Sects.* By G. T. Chapman, D.D. Hartford. 1836.
5. *The Church of Rome in her Primitive Purity compared with the Church of Rome at the Present Day.* By John Henry Hopkins, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. Burlington. 1837. [Reprinted, London. 1839.]
6. *The Primitive Church compared with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Present Day.* By John Henry Hopkins, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. Burlington. 1836.
7. *The Apostolical Fathers, Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Ignatius.* Burlington. New Jersey. 1837.

FEW passages in the history of the Church are better calculated to raise the Christian heart in admiration and gratitude to the Giver of all good, than her fortunes in the United States of America, and still more, as appears probable, hereafter in retrospect, even than now. Her power in withstanding persecution, in overcoming heresy, in retaining her hold over nations, in absorbing into herself and exercising the functions of political bodies, nay, her mere continuance in the world, though always to appearance losing ground and breaking up,—all these signs of an ever-watchful Providence are most wonderful; yet not less than any is the spectacle of the mustard seed cast upon the wilderness, finding a lodgment in the hard soil, and taking root, no one knows how, and promising to become a large tree. In her first planting, and almost wherever she has been propagated, the Church went out as a whole, completely organized, fully furnished in all things, even though one or two individuals were the keepers of the treasure. A bishop going out to convert the heathen, evolves a Church from himself by his apostolical powers, and transmits to it the perfect creed which he has brought with him. Far other-

wise was it with the Church's planting in America—she found her way thither in the most feeble and destitute condition. She had no bishops, no visible form of government, churches but in parts, scanty ordinances, few teachers. She was overrun and overborne by other forms of Christianity, and, when the revolution came, she lost the provisions which had been made for her support. By that rough tempest the tender or rather sickly vine which the mother Church was rearing as she best might, was torn down from the props and lattices on which she had been trained; and lay along the ground to be trampled under foot by passers by. How were those broken branches ever to bear fruit? How was that to grow which could not stand? Who would have prophesied anything hopeful of her, who thought it worth while to prophesy at all? Yet the principle of life was there; the holy stranger was for a while silent and was forgotten; but at length "the fire kindled, and at the last she spake with her tongue."

Even then though we had no especial connexion or concern with the American Church, we should be led as Christians to dwell upon her history as a signal instance of Almighty God's faithfulness to His own appointed ordinances, so that what seemed "born out of due time" lived and throve, and "out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings" praise was perfected. But to us English Christians the sight has a nearer and deeper interest. The English Church, the glory of Christendom, where Bede taught and whence Boniface went forth, now sits solitary among the nations. The Queen of the Isles, how has she suffered amid the passions of men! how straitened within her seas, who once had a continent for her range and its bishops for her hosts or guests! It avails not to look at the past; what was done is (as they say) "a matter of history," which means, we may entertain our own private opinion about it. The result is pretty clear; Christendom is broken up, and we have suffered not less than other nations from the convulsion. Rome, Greece, and England, all have suffered; but just at this moment we are speaking about ourselves. We then have lost the sympathy of the world; and those who deprived us of it have felt in duty bound to do what they could to make up to us our loss. The civil power, which has cut us off from Christendom, has done, it must be confessed, its utmost to reconcile us to our degradation. It has maintained, of course, our captivity as a first principle of the constitution, but it has taken very great pains to keep us from fretting. If the Church was to exist at all in England, it was like a law of the Medes and Persians, that she must exist for England alone. She must be a prisoner if she was to be an

inmate ; but, that being taken for granted, she has been accorded a most honorable captivity. Nothing has been denied her short of freedom ; power, wealth, influence, rank, consideration, have been showered upon her, to make her as happy as the day is long. She has been like Rasselas in a happy valley, or like the Crusader in Armida's garden ; what want was unsupplied ? Yet it is said of our first parent under far more blessed circumstances, " For Adam there was not found a helpmeet for him." *Aliquid desideravere oculi*, which neither fawning beast nor painted bird could supply. He found a want in Paradise itself ; and so upon this our poor Church of England, which is *not* in Paradise, this evil has fallen, in spite of " princes and other children of men," that she has been solitary. She has been among strangers ; statesmen, lawyers, and soldiers frisked and prowled around ; creatures wild or tame have held a parliament over her, but still she has wanted some one to converse with, to repose on, to consult, to love. The State indeed, to judge by its acts, has thought it unreasonable in her, that she could not find in a lion and a unicorn a sufficient object for her affections. It has set her to keep order in the land, to restrain enthusiasm, and to rival and so discountenance Popery ; and if she murmured, if she desired to place bishops in the colonies or to take any other measure which tended to Catholicity, it has used expostulation and upbraiding. " Am I not," it has seemed to whisper, " am I not your own parliament ? pour your griefs into my bosom. Have I not established you by law ? Am not I your guide, philosopher, and friend ? I am ready to meet all your desires. I will decide any theological point for you, or absolve vows and oaths for you, as easily as I send soldiers to collect your tithes." And if this did not succeed, then in a gruffer tone, " Are not you my own church ? Have I not paid for you ? Have I not cut you off from Christendom to have you all to myself ? Is not this the very alliance, that you should take wages and do service ? and where will you find service so light and wages so high ?"

Under these circumstances, the rest of the Church either caring nothing for us, or accounting it a point of charity to wish us dead, and the State intruding its well-meant but unamiable blandishments, it is pleasant to look across the western wave, and discern a friendly star breathing peace and uttering benison. This is our second reason for rejoicing in the American Church. It gives us some taste of Catholic feelings, and some enjoyment of Christian sympathy.

There is yet a third reason for satisfaction more intimately important to ourselves. This friendly Church is a daughter of ours, and is our pride as well as our consolation. The daughter is the

evidence of the mother's origin; that which lives is the true Church; that which is fruitful lives; the English Church, the desolate one, has children. There was a time when a satyrist could say of her:—

“Thus, like a creature of a double kind,  
In her own labyrinth she lives confined;  
*To foreign lands no sound of her is come,*  
Humbly content to be despised at home.”

*Hind and Panther.*

That day of rebuke is passed. The English Church has fulfilled the law which evidences her vitality. So has it been from the beginning; stocks and stones do not increase and multiply, but all “grass and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, after its kind.” It is with the moral world as with the material. Genius is creative; truth and holiness draw disciples round them; the Church is a mother. This then is our own special rejoicing in our American relations; we see our own faces reflected back to us in them, and we know that we live. We have the proof that the Church, of which we are, is not the mere creation of the State, but has an independent life, with a kind of her own, and fruit after her own kind. Men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles; the stream does not rise higher than the spring; if her daughter can *be*, though the State does not protect, the mother too could bear to be deserted by it.

For all these reasons, as Christian, as solitary, and as their mother, the English Church looks out with thankfulness and affection upon the churches which are springing up in North America, whether in our existing, or our late colonies; on both with affection, but with more of triumph on the latter. And on considering the vast extent of that continent and its possible destinies in the divine counsels should the world continue, no anticipation seems too great for the office they are appointed to fill, and for the work they are to do in ages to come.

And now, leaving these reflections, let us to the publications which have given rise to them. The first, and that on which we shall mainly dwell, is a graphic and circumstantial account of the present state of the American Church, by Mr. Caswall, an Englishman by birth, but a presbyter in the American Church. His object, as he states in his preface, has been that of “exhibiting to the British public *the vital energy* of the Episcopal system and the real benefit of an adherence to its essential principles;” the very subject of which we have been speaking, and about



which we shall presently say something more. "The view," he continues, "of a thousand republican clergymen, and five hundred thousand republican laymen contending for a liturgy and for the sacred regimen of bishops, will be sufficient to prove that the system which has flourished under the tyranny of the Roman empire, and the constitutional monarchy of England, contains in itself nothing repugnant to the principles of political self-government. At the same time, the wonderful progress and improvement of the American Church serve to confute the Romanist, who asserts, that the Church of England is sustained merely by the secular arm, and that in the event of her losing that support, she must of necessity become extinct." pp. v. vi. The following remarks too are *apropos* of what was said above :—

"The American Church is probably destined to become one of the most important and serviceable churches in Christendom. While it is unquestionably growing in piety, in resources, and in unity of action, so also it is increasing in numbers more rapidly than any other Protestant denomination in America. It has even gained on the fast-extending population of the United States, so that it has quadrupled itself during the last twenty-four years, while the population of the Union has little more than doubled. Should it continue to increase in the same ratio, it will out-number the Church of England before fifty years have elapsed ; and before the end of a century, it will embrace a majority of the population of the States. That it possesses the proper elements for a healthy increase is proved by the fact, that among the clergy and laity there exists a growing disposition to return as closely as possible to the primitive model, in doctrine, in discipline, and in worship. From the surrounding sects it has nothing to fear, but everything to hope. The more severely it is scrutinized, the brighter it will shine ; and the more clearly its principles are developed, the more powerfully it will commend itself to public estimation."—*Caswall*, p. 356, 357.

Now compare this with her state at the close of the revolutionary war, which he elsewhere thus describes :—

"When the colonies were actually separated from Great Britain, the destruction of the Church appeared almost inevitable, notwithstanding the fact that the great Washington himself was an Episcopalian. A few years nearly overthrew the work which had been slowly carried forward by the exertions of a century and a half ; and had not Omnipotence interposed, the ruin would have been complete. The fostering hand to which the American Church owed a long continuance of care and protection, was withdrawn ; and the Propagation Society no longer rendered its accustomed aid. Many of the clergy were thus left entirely destitute, and some were obliged to betake themselves to secular employments for support. In the northern states the clergy generally declined officiating, on the ground of their ecclesiastical connection with the liturgy of the Church of England. In the south, many worthy

ministers, conceiving themselves bound by oath to support the government of Great Britain, refused to enter upon a new allegiance, and quitted the country. By an unjust decision, the lands possessed by the Propagation Society in Vermont were confiscated, and applied to the purposes of education. An equally unconstitutional sentence, obtained through the united efforts of sectarians and infidels, ultimately despoiled the Church of Virginia of its glebes and houses of prayer; while, in addition to all these calamities, Episcopalians in general became subject to unmerited political prejudices. Most of their churches were destitute of worshippers; their clergy had departed, or were deprived of maintenance; no centre of unity remained, and no ecclesiastical government existed."—*Caswall*, p. 173, 174.

† This was the melancholy condition of the Church in 1783, and from that date to the close of the century it was fully employed in organizing itself upon the Apostolical model. It obtained bishops from Scotland and England by 1787, and in the course of the thirteen years which followed

"Its members had learned in some measure to rely on their own resources, and its ministers were supported in some instances comfortably by the voluntary contributions of their flocks. Yet the number of clergymen little exceeded two hundred; and these were widely scattered through the country bordering on the Atlantic. No great enterprises were undertaken, because a hard struggle was necessary to maintain the ground already occupied."—*Ibid.* p. 184.

In 1790 the number of bishops was seven; and in 1811 only one or two dioceses had been added. The inferior clergy had scarcely increased at all, and too little attention was paid to theological preparation. But at this time the energies of the divine kingdom began to show themselves. Mr. Caswall gives us this summary:

"Hitherto all persons desirous of preparing for the ministry of the Church had laboured under great disadvantages. Few colleges were under episcopal control, and even there, theological education was neglected. The candidates were, therefore, compelled to pursue their studies under the direction of clergymen encumbered with parochial duties, or to resort to the institutions of dissenting denominations. Accordingly, about the year 1814, Bishop Hobart of New York issued proposals for the establishment of a divinity-school under the superintendence of himself and his successors. The deputies to the General Convention from South Carolina were also instructed by their constituents to propose a similar scheme. The subject was for some time under consideration; and finally, in 1817, it was resolved to establish a theological seminary at New York for the benefit of the entire Church, and under its control. In the same year the diocese of North Carolina was admitted into union with the General Convention, and measures were adopted to organize the Church in Ohio. The Rev. Philander Chase was consecrated to the episcopate of the latter diocese in 1819, and the

Rev. J. S. Ravenscroft to that of the former in 1823. New Jersey had been provided with a bishop, the Rev. Dr. Croes, as early as 1815; and from this period, the advancement of the Church proceeded with almost unexampled rapidity. In 1814, the number of clergy was little more than 240, but in the course of twenty-four years, it has quadrupled itself, and the increase of congregations has been in an equal proportion.

“The destitute state of the western country led to the formation of a missionary association in Pennsylvania about the year 1818. By this association several missionaries were sustained in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and some churches were planted. In a few years this society assumed a more extended form, and, under the auspices of the General Convention, became known as the ‘Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church.’ For many years its operations were extremely limited, and it was not until 1830 that it produced any considerable benefit. In the mean time, Washington College was instituted, the General Theological Seminary received a constant accession of students, and a second institution of the same kind was established at Alexandria, near Washington, designed especially to promote the interests of religion in Virginia and the other southern dioceses. Bishop Chase, as has been already stated, proceeded to England in 1824, in the hope of obtaining assistance towards the foundation of a similar institution in Ohio. His efforts, it is known, were successful, and in 1831 he had the satisfaction of beholding nearly 200 inmates of “Kenyon College and Theological Seminary.” \* \* \* \* \* “At the present time, 1838, the number of clergy in Ohio is between fifty and sixty. Kenyon College has lately received from England, through Bishop McIlvaine, further donations amounting to about 12,000 dollars, besides many valuable books. In Kentucky and Tennessee, the increase of the Church has been as rapid as in Ohio. In 1825 there was but one officiating clergyman in the first-mentioned state. In 1832 it contained eight clergymen, and in the same year the Rev. Mr. Smith of Lexington was consecrated bishop. In 1834 the ‘Theological Seminary of the Diocese of Kentucky’ was incorporated; in the following year it received great pecuniary assistance from eastern Episcopalians, and in 1836 contained eighteen students. The clergy in the diocese now amount to twenty-one. So late as 1832 there were but three clergymen in Tennessee. There are now in that diocese about twelve, with Bishop Otey at their head, and a theological seminary in connection with a college is already in contemplation.

“In the eastern states the progress of the Church has also been rapid and steady. The Church in Vermont had become in 1832 sufficiently strong to separate from the eastern diocese of which it had formed a part, and, accordingly, in the same year the Rev. Dr. Hopkins was elected and consecrated its bishop. It is highly probable, as I have mentioned in a former chapter, that before many years, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Maine will be provided with their respective prelates.”—pp. 187, 191.

In the Journal of the Proceedings of the General Convention  
NO. LI.—OCT. 1839.

of last year, twenty-one dioceses are specified. In 1835 the Church formally took upon itself a most important step—the conduct of its missions, dispensing with the aid of the society which had hitherto been indirectly its organ. Since this “great and momentous measure,” as Mr. Caswall justly calls it, has passed, the missionary income of the Church has greatly increased. In 1835 it was about 6000*l.*, and, in 1836, it became 12,431*l.*

“This increase is to be ascribed in a great measure to the growing prevalence of systematic contributions, in the form of weekly or monthly offerings. To Bishop Doane of New Jersey belongs the credit of having brought the latter subject fairly into notice. It had become sufficiently obvious that with all the complicated machinery of agencies, charity sermons, newspaper appeals, and other expedients, the amount contributed to missionary purposes was exceedingly small, compared with the actual capabilities of the Church. It was plain also that the benevolent public was not so much indisposed to give, as under the influence of bad habits in giving. Excitement was a grand resource, and when this failed, the task of arousing to liberal action was difficult. Under these circumstances Bishop Doane and other influential clergymen conceived the plan of establishing a more ample, permanent, and effective supply. The idea was derived from the system recommended to the Corinthian Christians by St. Paul, when pleading in behalf of the impoverished churches of Judea; “Now, concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given orders to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store as God has prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come.” It was justly concluded, that if but a comparatively small portion of the members of the Church could be induced to adopt this primitive practice, the funds thus raised would be sufficient to sustain on a liberal scale the missionary operations of the General Convention. Accordingly in 1833 Bishop Doane introduced the system into the diocese of New Jersey, and it was soon afterwards recommended and partially introduced in other dioceses.”—pp. 262, 263.

From these great steps in the development of Catholic principles one most important consequence will probably follow, which could not have been anticipated when they were taken,—the destruction of the voluntary system in the bad sense of the word. Nothing is more Christian than that the people of the Church, who are benefited by her ordinances, should “willingly offer” for her support: nothing more unchristian than that individual clergymen should be at the mercy of the people, and be under the temptation of “preaching smooth things” to get bread, clothes, and lodging. Such an evil threatens to arise when there is a less demand for clergy in America than at the present moment. It was obviated in the early Church by the offerings being made to the bishop of the diocese, who distributed them at his discretion among the parochial clergy; that is, in the way

in which missionaries are actually paid in this day. When once then the Church has in its hands funds for the payment of missionaries, it may easily extend the system to the payment of clergy.

There seems to be no lack of liberality in contributions among the laity of the Church. Mr. Caswall says—

“The New York Episcopalians are pre-eminentlly distinguished for their disposition to assist all the institutions of the Church. If there is an infant parish established in the West, and unable to erect a place of worship, application is made to New York. If there is a new Episcopal school to be instituted in any part of the country; if there is a Church burnt down; if there is a professorship to be endowed, recourse is instantly had to New York as the place where substantial tokens of sympathy may certainly be expected. Applicants after applicants come crowding in, and the fountain of benevolence still remains unexhausted, and even increasing in abundance. I have been credibly informed that many of the wealthiest merchants habitually devote a tenth part of their incomes, and sometimes much more, to religious purposes.”—pp. 155-6.

This munificence shows itself, as it should, in the erection and decoration of churches. At Hartford, in Connecticut, where lately was a wooden building, in which Bishop Chase officiated,

“A splendid and substantial Episcopal Church, of stone, has been erected in its stead, and presents the noblest specimen of Gothic architecture which I have seen in America. At the time of my visit the tower was not wholly completed; but when finished, I should think that the expense could not fall short of twenty thousand pounds. The interior is in perfect keeping with the exterior; all is rich and solid, without any superfluous or trifling decorations. In one of the windows is a striking painting of the Ascension, executed, as I was informed, in Italy.”—pp. 145, 146.

Mr. Caswall gives the following account of a church in one of the eastern cities, he does not say which:—

“The Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Peter is a finished specimen of Gothic architecture. The walls, which rise forty feet above the ground, are built of hammered bluestone trimmed with granite. The dimensions of the church are 65 feet in breadth by 120 feet in length, including the tower and vestry-room. The tower, which is at the north end, is 23 feet square and 138 feet high, supported by angular buttresses of four stages, and finished at the top with eight pinnacles, each 30 feet high, crocketed and crowned with finials. Buttresses are also attached to the walls of the main building, the ends and sides of which and of the top of the tower, are crowned with embattled parapets. The roof is covered with metal; on each side of the tower is an open screen of rich tracery-work 30 feet high, supported by octagon towers, surmounted by pinnacles, and crowned by finials. There are five pointed windows on each side, and a large oriel window in the south end; the large window in front of the tower is 24 feet high and 12 feet wide.

The galleries in the church are supported by clustered columns and Tudor arches, trimmed with projecting pendentives, filled between with rich tracery and ornamental carving. The ceiling is composed of double-groined arches, springing from massive pendants. The pulpit and reading-desk are in excellent keeping with the rest of the work for beauty and richness of design. On each side of the pulpit, in the end wall, is a handsome niche, the design of which was taken from Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. The ground-floor contains 138 pews, and the galleries 68.

"At the northern end of the building, in the gallery, stands the organ, a splendid instrument, built by Mr. Henry Erben, of New York; in height 31 feet, in breadth 21 feet, and in depth 13 feet. The case is a very rich specimen of the Gothic, and is furnished with three sets of keys (compass from GG to F' alto), and pedals from GGG to an octave below the manuals to D, making the compass of the pedals one octave and a fifth. The number of draw-stops is 34, distributed as follows. In the *great organ*, 12 stops, namely, large open diapason, second open diapason, stopped diapason, clarabella, night horn, principal, twelfth, fifteenth, sesquialtra of three ranks, cornet of four ranks, trumpet, and clarion. In the *choir organ*, 7 stops, namely, open diapason, viol, de gamba, stopped diapason, flute, principal, and cremona. In the *swell*, 9 stops, namely, open diapason, stopped diapason, dulciana, flute, principal, fifteenth, cornet of three ranks, trumpet, and hautboy. In the pedals, 3 stops, namely, double open diapason, open diapason, and principal; making in all 31 stops of pipes. The remaining three are coupling stops, one of which unites the great and choir organs; another, the choir organ and swell; and the third, the pedals, with the bass of the choir organ. The largest pedal pipes are 21 by 24 inches inside, and 22 feet long; the largest metal pipe is 10 inches in diameter, and about 12 feet long. The cost of the organ was 5000 dollars (1125*l.*)"—pp. 283, 284.

At Rochester, in New York, there is a Gothic church which cost 22,500*l.* (p. 113). In the west too, it appears, some very handsome places of worship have been erected. Even in Ohio, there are two which cost respectively 12,600*l.* and 5,400*l.* sterling. "Church architecture," our author informs us, "is rapidly improving and a better taste is prevailing more and more. Cathedrals are still confined to the Roman Catholics; but the Roman Catholic buildings of that description are often greatly inferior to Episcopal churches." It is an interesting circumstance that, as of old time we were indebted for our Cathedrals to our bishops, so in America the present Bishop of Vermont has begun to tread in the steps of Wykeham and Wolsey, by publishing a book of architectural plans.

We are glad to add that other evidences of bountifulness in the worship of God are showing themselves. "Splendidly embroidered pulpit hangings, superb services of communion plate, and a profusion of silk and velvet, of gilding and of painting,"

are sometimes found; and though Mr. Caswall hints that these embellishments are not always of the severest and most reverential tone, yet they show the "willing mind," and are pleasant to think upon.

The poorer districts seem to vie with the more wealthy in their voluntary care of an unendowed Church.

"Not unfrequently he receives a waggon-load of substantial comforts, such as two or three barrels of flour, ten or twelve bushels of apples, a barrel of cider, and a sack of potatoes. Sometimes he is agreeably surprised by the receipt of a complete suit of clerical apparel, a hat, a pair of boots, or a variety of articles for his wife and children. I am acquainted with a young clergyman who, within a few weeks, received two or three fees for marriage of a hundred dollars each (22*l*.) I have known fifty dollars (not a fee) to be presented to a clergyman on a baptismal occasion, and an equal amount at a funeral, though gifts of this description are not frequent. Medical men and lawyers seldom charge a clergymen for their services, and quite recently the missionary bishop was conveyed on board a steam-boat, without cost, from New Orleans to St. Louis, a voyage of more than a thousand miles."—pp. 305, 306.

Mr. Caswall informs us of the consideration which was exercised on different occasions towards himself.

"A gentleman of the Episcopal Church, residing in Circleville, a connexion and namesake of the justly-celebrated nonconformist Dr. Doddridge, was part-owner of a commodious line of boats on the Ohio canal. Hearing of my indisposition, and of my arrangements for leaving Portsmouth, this worthy man, though almost a total stranger, informed me that accommodations would be provided at no expense, for myself and wife, on board one of his vessels. Such offers are made, in this country, with the intention that they should be accepted; and, accordingly, I did not hesitate to comply. The journey by canal was one of 330 miles, and would have cost us together about twenty dollars.

"Instances of similar liberality to clergymen are by no means unfrequent in America. In travelling through Ohio, it has several times happened that after spending a night at an inn, and having taken supper and breakfast, the landlord has refused to accept any payment on hearing that I was a clergyman. For the same reason, a drayman, whom I once engaged to remove my furniture from one house to another, resisted all my efforts to induce him to receive a compensation. There are captains of steam-boats who sometimes will carry clergymen at half-price, or without any charge."—pp. 106, 107.

It should be observed, that this attention is paid to other ministers besides clergymen. "Medical men," the author adds, "also prescribe for the ministers of all denominations and for their families gratuitously."

In another place he observes of Albany:—

"Here we spent Sunday, and attended divine service at the two Episcopal Churches. The landlord of the comfortable hotel where we

lodged was an Episcopalian. He treated us with the utmost hospitality, and refused to accept any compensation."—p. 115.

Mr. Caswall himself first belonged to the diocese of Ohio, whence he obtained his academical degree and his orders; and he gives us an interesting description of the literally pastoral, or, what may be called, the *nomadic* habits of the clergy in its vast and wild territory.

"It may be interesting to you," he writes to a friend, "to hear a little more on this subject: I will, therefore, give you an account of my regular Sunday expedition, in which I am accompanied by a worthy collegian, my intimate friend. You must suppose the season to be summer, when the country appears to advantage, and the days are long. We rise early, and get a light breakfast an hour or two before the ordinary morning meal, and then sally forth with a few books, and some frugal provision for the day. The sun has risen about half an hour, and the dew is sparkling on the long grass. We proceed about half a mile through the noble aboriginal forest, the tall and straight trees appearing like pillars in a vast Gothic cathedral. The timber consists of oak, hickory, sugar-maple, sycamore, walnut, poplar, and chestnut; and the wild vine hangs from the branches in graceful festoons. Occasionally we hear the notes of singing-birds; but less frequently than in the groves of England. Deep silence generally prevails, and prepares the mind for serious contemplation. We soon arrive at a small clearing, where a cabin built of rough logs indicates the residence of a family. Around the cabin are several acres upon which gigantic trees are yet standing; but perfectly deadened by the operation of girdling. Their bark has chiefly fallen off, and the gaunt white limbs appear dreary though majestic in their decay. Upon the abundant grass, which has sprung up since the rays of the sun were thus admitted to the soil, a number of cattle, the property of the college, are feeding; and the tinkling of their bells is almost the only sound that strikes the ear. We climb over the fence constructed of split rails piled in a zigzag form; we traverse the pasture, and are again in the deep forest. The surface of the ground is neither flat, nor very hilly, but gently undulating. Our pathway is plain, and conversation enlivens our walk. Occasionally we pass a log hut surrounded by a small clearing; and after an hour we arrive at a roughly-constructed saw-mill, erected on a small stream of water. The miller is seated at the door of his cabin, clad in his Sunday suit, and reading a religious book lent him by us on a former occasion. We hold a short conversation with him; he expresses a growing interest in religion and the Church: and concludes by telling us that he wishes us hereafter to use his horse on our expeditions. We accept the offer as it is intended; my companion mounts the nag, and I walk by his side.

"We then pass through the woods along the banks of Vernon River; and in due time my companion descends from his seat, and I mount the quiet animal in his place. After another hour, we arrive at a small village, or rather a collection of log-houses, the scene of our labours. At



the further extremity of the street is a school-house built of logs, with a huge chimney at one end, and a fire-place extending across one side of the apartment. Within it are a number of rough benches, and all around it is a kind of temporary arbour, covered with fresh boughs for the accommodation of those who cannot find seats within. Having tied our horse to a tree, we enter the school-room and sit down to rest. Soon the children come flocking from the cabins and through the woods; and with them their parents and many other grown up people, attracted partly by curiosity, and partly by a sincere desire of religious instruction. In a short time the school-room is filled, and a number of persons are standing without in the shade of the arbour; I then give out one of the hymns in the Prayer-book, reading two lines at a time on account of the scarcity of books. The people join in singing it, and then all kneel down to prayer. I repeat a large portion of the service by *memory*, knowing that my hearers, although belonging to no sect whatever, have at present all the prejudices of sectarians against 'praying by a book.' After prayer my companion adds a few words of exhortation, to which all listen with the deepest attention. This, although not strictly regular, is permitted by the bishop to candidates for orders, on account of the exigency of the case. We then instruct the children in the New Testament; and about mid-day we untie our horse, and set out on our journey homeward, intending to eat our cold refreshments on the way.

"But scarcely have we left the village, when a blacksmith runs after us and requests us to stop. He tells us that he has felt deeply interested in the services, that he desires more information, and that he wishes us always to dine with him on Sundays hereafter. We accordingly return to his cabin, and his wife sets before us a plentiful repast, consisting of chickens, potatoes, hot bread, apple-pies, and delicious milk. After some profitable conversation, we bid them farewell, and about three o'clock arrive at the miller's house, almost overcome by the excessive heat. When we have somewhat recovered from our fatigue, we proceed to a spot on the bank of the stream, where the grass is smooth, and where the thick foliage produces a comparative coolness. Here we find about a hundred persons collected, in hope of receiving from us some religious instruction. We conduct the service much in the same way as in the morning. The effect of the singing in the open air is striking and peculiar; and the admirable prayers of our Liturgy are no less sublime in the forests of Ohio than in the consecrated and time-honoured minsters of York or Canterbury.

"The service concluded, we return on foot, and as we approach the college with weary steps, the fire-flies glisten in the increasing darkness. We arrive at our rooms fatigued in body, but refreshed in mind, and encouraged to new efforts. I have mentioned that a number of the young men are engaged in a similar manner; and you will at once perceive that on account of the distance of their schools, they can but rarely be present at the regular morning and evening service at the college. The great majority of the students are, however, punctual attendants at Divine worship, and the bishop and professors are faithful in their sermons and exhortations."—p. 35—39.

Selection is difficult in a book so full of information as Mr. Caswall's; in conjunction with the last extract the following will be read with interest. It relates to the individual to whom, under Providence, the existence of the Church at Portsmouth in Ohio is owing.

" Samuel Gunn was born at Waterbury, in Connecticut, in the year 1763, and baptized by a clergyman sustained by the ' Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.' The war of the American Revolution commenced while he was a child, and consequently, he took no part in that fearful struggle. But the Church suffered severely during the momentous period in question, and became, in many places, but a name; a name, too, of obloquy and reproach. Yet Samuel Gunn continued faithful to his spiritual mother. He loved the vine which he believed the Son of God and his Apostles had planted; and though now broken and spoiled, he hoped to see the time when it would cover the land with its spreading branches, and when its leaves would be for the healing of the nations. The war having at length terminated, the clergymen in Connecticut rallied their remaining forces, and elected a bishop, who was consecrated in 1784 by the Scottish prelates. Bishop Seabury was soon actively engaged in the great work of reviving the enfeebled parishes committed to his charge. He ordained pastors, and was the first who performed the solemn ordinance of Confirmation in the United States. Among the numbers who hastened to receive this holy rite was the subject of our memoir, who had now attained the age of manhood, and had given unquestionable signs of a Christian character.

" The parish of Waterbury was, at that time, without a clergyman, and Mr. Gunn, being a man of unimpeachable morals, was appointed a lay-reader. During the week he was engaged on his farm, but on Sunday he occupied the desk, and conducted the devotions of a few zealous Christians according to the venerable forms of the Liturgy. Sometimes a clergyman visited the little flock; but such opportunities were not frequent, and for ten or twelve years Mr. Gunn continued his useful labours without fee or reward. But his family was now increasing, and his circumstances were greatly straitened. At length he determined to seek a home in the western country, which already presented a wide field to enterprise and industry. He first removed, about the year 1793, to Windham, in the western part of the state of New York. Here he established a small shop, which yielded him a livelihood sufficient for his moderate wants. He soon found means to collect a few persons together, and to persuade them to unite with him in the performance of divine worship. He commenced, a second time, his vocation of lay-reader; and soon experienced the gratification of finding that his efforts were not in vain. The number of attendants gradually increased, until finally they organized a parish and obtained a clergyman. But Providence did not permit the subject of our memoir to enjoy the spiritual advantage of a pastor. He seemed destined to be a lay-reader; and by the silent influence of a blameless life, no less than by his direct exertions, he was to promote the truth among those who had few opportunities of hearing an official ambassador of God.

“ His circumstances becoming again embarrassed, he decided on removing into the fertile, but at that time, almost uninhabited region, bordering on the Ohio. Accordingly, having punctually paid his debts, he sallied forth with a light heart and a light purse, in quest of new toils and new means of usefulness.

“ It was in the autumn of 1805, that Mr. Gunn, with a wife and five children, commenced his long and fatiguing journey. An occurrence of a most distressing character soon wrung the affectionate heart of our lay-reader, and tried his faith to the utmost. While passing through the deep forest, one of his children fell from the waggon, and in a moment was crushed to death beneath the wheels. With his own hands the afflicted father dug a grave by the road-side, and having read the solemn burial-service of the Church, committed the remains of his beloved offspring to their kindred dust. In the month of November he reached the banks of the Ohio, and embarked with his family and little property on the noble river which was to bear him to his destination.

“ No steam-boat then ploughed the western waters; and it was only in long and narrow vessels, propelled by poles or dragged by ropes, that the hardy boatmen could ascend the current. The passengers and goods destined for places down the stream were conveyed in flat-boats of a temporary construction, which were broken up and sold when the voyage was completed. In a vessel of this latter kind, Mr. Gunn, with his little all, floated slowly to his future home.

“ At length, his boat was made fast near the village of Portsmouth, a place containing at that time not more than a dozen dwellings. There was, however, a dock-yard in the vicinity where a large ship was afterwards built, which descended the river 1500 miles to the Gulf of Mexico, and was employed in the trade with Europe.

“ In so enterprising a neighbourhood, Mr. Gunn was not idle. He purchased a small farm, and diligently employed himself in felling the trees, breaking up the rich soil, and sowing the seeds from which he hoped to provide his children's bread. And now the Liturgy was heard probably for the first time on the shores of the Ohio. Every Sunday, the lay-reader collected his family around him, and united with them in worship and praise. For many years, none but his domestic circle attended on these occasions; but a providential circumstance soon enlarged his congregation. He thought it expedient to sell his farm and remove into the village of Portsmouth, where he established himself as a cooper. He soon found that he was not the only churchman in the place; but that there were a few others who had been taught to believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church. These gladly attended his reading, and assisted with their responses. About this time, namely, in the year 1819, he received the grateful intelligence that a diocese had been organized in Ohio, and a bishop elected and consecrated. To complete his gratification, he learned that the new prelate was no stranger to him. The Rev. Philander Chase, the same missionary who, on more than one occasion had slept under his roof, and dined at his table at Windham, in New York, was now his bishop in the Far West. Mr. Gunn immediately took his pen, and wrote to his chief shepherd. He stated the im-

portance of directly commencing regular services in Portsmouth. He mentioned the comfort which the few members of the Church in that increasing village would derive from an episcopal visit; and he concluded with earnestly requesting the bishop either to come himself, or send some clergyman to visit them at an early season."—p. 92—97.

The bishop came, organized a parish, and, in the want of a clergyman, appointed Mr. Gunn lay-reader; the narrative proceeds—

"For the third time, our lay-reader occupied the desk; but the people were, to a great extent, destitute of prayer-books, and could not, of course, join in the responses. It was soon discovered that a printer in the village was in possession of a large number of these invaluable manuals of devotion, which he had long since laid away as unsaleable. They were immediately purchased, and some at high prices. Money was then scarce, and one person actually gave twenty bushels of corn for a single prayer-book. For three years Mr. Gunn regularly performed the services. During this period, the village was visited most severely by disease. Many who had taken a deep interest in the Church militant below were removed to the Church triumphant above; and after several unhealthy seasons, few of the little congregation remained. In the year 1823, a clergyman residing in Chillicothe, fifty miles distant, consented to officiate once a month in Portsmouth. This was a great benefit to the people, and a great relief to Mr. Gunn, who had now attained his sixtieth year. The latter, notwithstanding, conducted worship, and read a sermon on the intervening Sundays; and after two years, when Mr. Kellogg, the clergyman, left Ohio, he again took the entire labour upon himself. All this, it must be remembered, was entirely gratuitous, and the only recompense was that of a good conscience.

"The congregation, now exceedingly small, was often a subject of ridicule to the thoughtless and the prejudiced. The members of other denominations also frequently importuned the few Episcopalians to unite with them, on the assurance that a Church minister could never be obtained. But the little community, attached by conviction to the distinctive principles of Episcopacy, never ceased to persevere in what they believed to be the way of truth. In 1831, they obtained a convenient room for their worship. They fitted it up with commodious seats and a pulpit; and here, after his recovery from a severe illness, the aged lay-reader, with a trembling voice, continued to conduct their devotions. In the month of July, in the same year, he officiated for the last time.

"Having been just ordained a deacon, by Bishop Chase, I was sent by him to Portsmouth, where I received and accepted an invitation to take charge of the feeble congregation. My compensation was fixed at 200 dollars (45*l.*) a year, which, with an additional hundred from the Diocesan Missionary Society, was enough to support existence at the low prices which then prevailed. But scarcely had I officiated once in my new sphere of labour, when a frightful accident befel the good Mr. Gunn, which hastened his departure from the world. A fire-engine had recently been purchased by the inhabitants of Portsmouth, and the old

man, with many others was observing its operations. The person who directed the jet unfortunately permitted the tube to fall, and in an instant the whole stream of water struck Mr. Gunn in the face, crushing his right eye, and completely destroying its power of vision. For some time his condition was extremely precarious; and it was feared that a total loss of sight would be the result. At length nature rallied, and he recovered strength to walk. One eye was spared to him, but his former health was never restored. Yet the hope of immortality brightened upon him, and his conversation became more and more solemn and edifying. The Church, too, was dearer to his heart than ever; and it was not long before he gave a proof of his sincerity, which was the last crowning act of a life devoted to the service of God.

“During the winter following the accident, he one day requested as many of the parishioners as could attend, to meet him on important business. A number of them accordingly assembled, and the old man, rising from his seat, represented to them in strong terms the importance of building a church. He showed them that no considerable accessions to their number could be expected until a distinct building, of sufficient capacity, and easily accessible to all, had been obtained. He concluded almost in the following words: ‘You know, my friends, that I am not rich, and that twice I have lost my all. Yet Providence has given me enough, and my property is now a little more than two thousand dollars. Of this, I will give *one-third* towards the erection of the proposed edifice, on condition that you will contribute the remainder of the necessary amount.’ This offer was accepted with admiration and gratitude, and a sufficient sum was promptly subscribed.

“But the lay-reader lived not to see the church erected, nor even its corner-stone laid. A few months after his generous gift, his form became emaciated, and he was soon confined entirely to his bed. . . .

“A clergyman, in priest’s orders, visiting Portsmouth about this time, Mr. Gunn expressed his desire to partake of the holy communion. The sacred rite was accordingly administered to him, and he expressed the liveliest joy and consolation. Five days afterwards, he breathed his last in perfect peace, having almost completed his seventieth year. Many hundred persons accompanied his remains to the burial ground; for he had been a friend to all, and had been long regarded as an example of uprightness and integrity.”—pp. 98—103.

It is encouraging to find that the Church, though deprived of all external aids towards its keeping up the appearance of unity, yet is recognized and joined, in those regions of religious extravagance, as the Catholic Church should be, on the ground of the consistency, definiteness, and stability of its creed. Persons of the most opposite sentiments, enthusiasts, and (so called) Unitarians, seem in this respect to look upon her with interest and consideration and to be drawn to her. We hardly know whether to regard the following as a pleasant specimen of it or not, but we give it in Mr. Caswall’s words.

"I took the steam-boat for New York on Saturday, and had a delightful voyage down the Connecticut river. On the way I entered freely into conversation with a gentlemanly and intelligent passenger, who proved to be a Unitarian from Massachusetts. Pointing to the Episcopal churches which appeared on both sides of the stream, he remarked, 'Ah! if those churches had been in Massachusetts there would have been few Unitarians.' He explained himself by expressing his conviction that Unitarians objected not so much to the doctrine of the Trinity taught by the Church, as to the unpalatable, and as he said, the revolting manner in which Christianity was presented by the orthodox congregational divines."—pp. 149, 150.

Certainly the excesses of sectarianism in the North American States are such, that one need not be of a Socinian turn to be disgusted with them. Besides the old Calvinistic Baptists, there are the Free-will, the Seventh-day, and the Six-principle Baptists; the Christian Baptists, who deny the proper Divinity of Christ; and the Campbellite Baptists, many of whom are but in part believers in the Holy Trinity, and modify the doctrine of the Atonement. Besides these there are the Seed or Snake Baptists, who, carrying out the Calvinistic system, divide mankind by a rigid line into the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent; and lastly, the Dunkers, who are principally German Baptists, and who wear a peculiar dress, a long robe with a girdle and hood, let their beards grow, feed on roots and vegetables, live men with men and women with women, not meeting even in their devotions, have each his own cell, a bench for a bed, a block of wood for a pillow, admit works of supererogation, and deny the eternity of future punishment. This strange mockery of Catholic Truth numbers as many as 30,000 adherents. As to the Calvinistic varieties they go the lengths in numerous instances of even considering the religious education of children as a sacrilegious interference with the work of divine grace. Among the Methodists the same disorders prevail which marked their first rise in England. In their camp meetings "sermons and exhortations succeed each other in quick succession; the most lively hymns are sung perhaps for an hour together, and extempore prayers are offered with extreme force of language and energy of action. The people become powerfully excited; they shout 'Glory' and 'Amen;' they scream, jump, roar, and clap their hands, and even fall into swoons, convulsions, and death-like trances;" manifestations which are far more like the work of evil spirits than of Him who on earth "did not strive, nor cry," nor make "His voice heard in the streets." Of the Quakers, Mr. Caswall tells us, one-third have lately declared themselves Unitarians. Besides these there are, among other sects, 600,000 Universalists, who teach the

annihilation of the wicked; 6000 Shakers or followers of Ann Lee, whom they consider the woman mentioned in Revelations, xii., and who have all things common, lead a single life, and dance in divine worship; and the Mormonites, who being the only sect of pure American origin, shall be described in Mr. Caswall's words:

"The Mormonites are the victims, and, to a certain extent, the actors, of one of the grossest impostures ever palmed on the credulity of man. Their delusion seems to be founded upon a prevailing and plausible opinion, which derives the descent of the American Indians from the ten lost tribes of Israel. The Mormonites assert, that in the time of the Jewish kings, an Israelite embarked on the Persian Gulf, and, after many adventures, crossed the Pacific, and arrived on the American coast. To this individual various revelations were committed, which were written on golden plates, and hidden under a stone in that part of the country now known as the state of New York. In process of time, viz. in the year 1829, an angel appeared to a man residing in the vicinity, and directed his attention to the spot where the precious deposit was concealed. He searched and found the golden plates; but the language inscribed upon them was unknown. He was accordingly furnished with some talismanic power, by which he translated the original, word by word, and thus produced the 'Book of Mormon.' This is a singular tissue of absurdities, not wholly devoid of ingenuity. There are fifteen books, which fill a duodecimo volume of 588 pages, first published by Joseph Smith, of Ontario county, New York. It is said to have been originally intended as a hoax, with the further object of deriving profit from the sale of the book. It is needless, perhaps, to say that the original golden plates have never been produced. The Mormonites assert that the Land of Promise is beyond the Mississippi. They also declare that they possess the gift of working miracles. They consider the study of the Hebrew language to be a religious duty; and at one of their settlements, in Ohio, they recently engaged the son of a Jewish rabbi, a distinguished Hebrew teacher, to instruct the whole community. They already amount to 12,000."—pp. 322, 323.

In reading such accounts, how are we thrown back into the times of early Church-history, and find ourselves among the Valentinians, Marcionites, Cataphrygians, Ebionites, Manichees, and all the other prodigies to which the presence of the true Church gave rise, as the sun breeds reptiles! and as the Church in those early times went forth conquering and to conquer amid them all, so we are prepared to believe that even in these fallen times she has so much of her ancient glory left her, as to eat them up like Aaron's rod, and to grow and increase while they fall to pieces. Nay, under such circumstances, we are not sorry to be told, even of the Church of Rome, that by means of its numerous and well-conducted schools and colleges, it is daily acquiring a more powerful hold upon the public mind; for it is better to belong to

any portion of the one true Church, than to sectaries, who, not to dwell on their doctrines, do not even profess to belong to it.

But to return: Mr. Caswall informs us that in the towns and villages along the New York canal the "disorders and divisions among sectarian bodies have brought multitudes within the fold of the Church."—p. 115. Elsewhere he tells us that a vast proportion of her members have originally belonged to one or other denomination of Christians, and "have united with her from a sincere and intelligent preference."—p. 332. And, what is still more remarkable, that "*probably more than half* of the parochial clergy, and *certainly almost half* the bishops, have been originally Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists or Baptists."

Mr. Caswall furnishes us with some instances of eminent individuals who have been converted from the sectarian communions. First may be mentioned Bishop Chase, who is well known to many persons in England.

"Bishop Chase is a native of Cornish, a small town in the western part of the state of New Hampshire. His ancestors were English dissenters, and emigrated to America nearly a hundred years ago. He was himself educated in the Congregational or Independent persuasion, and continued his attachment to those principles until the year 1795, when nearly the whole of his father's family conformed to the Liturgy, and became members of the Episcopal Church. A candid examination of the Prayer-book, and of the important subject of an apostolical succession, were among the principal reasons which led to this remarkable change. Philander Chase, then in his nineteenth year, being seriously inclined, and viewing with sorrow the feeble state of the Church, resolved to devote himself to the clerical office. Accordingly, after several years of close application to study, under the tuition of a member of the University of Oxford, then officiating as a parish minister in Albany, he received holy orders in 1798, and was appointed a missionary to extend the blessings of religion in the new settlements in the western part of New York."—pp. 22, 23.

Another, mentioned by Mr. Caswall, is the present Rector of Bethel, in Vermont, who

"is a venerable English gentleman, once a strong dissenter, and the minister of an Independent congregation in the mother country. Having arrived in America, he formed an acquaintance with the Episcopal Church, and became convinced that the chief grounds on which the dissenters originally seceded from the Church of England had been fully removed in this country. After due consideration, he was received as a candidate for the ministry, and was ultimately ordained to the priesthood, and elected rector of Christ Church, Bethel. He is a faithful and laborious pastor, and a zealous defender of the apostolic succession and other distinctive principles of Episcopacy."—pp. 140, 141.

Dr. Cooke, who is the subject of the following extract, was a



Professor in the Medical School at Lexington, and is known by a work on the Theory and Practice of Medicine.

“ Educated in Virginia, and connected with some distinguished families in England, Dr. Cooke spent his youth among the best society, and in habitual intercourse with the most cultivated minds. Sceptical opinions were then unhappily prevalent, and he imbibed the poison which has destroyed so many of the inconsiderate and unreflecting. While still a young man, he was induced, by a happy curiosity, to purchase of an itinerant book-peddler, a work on the evidences of Christianity. He took it home, shut himself up in his room, and applied his whole faculties to the study of the interesting subject. His naturally strong mind felt the entire force of the argument, and his native straightforwardness led him to an instant avowal of the change which took place in his sentiments.

“ Knowing as yet nothing of Church history, he was not adequate to make a proper choice of a denomination, but immediately connected himself with the Methodists, partly on account of their local proximity, and partly through a just admiration of their energy and zeal. For many years he remained an active and influential member of that sect, and some time elapsed after his appointment as professor in the Lexington Medical School, before any further change was effected in his sentiments. At length Dr. Chapman’s sermons on the Church were published, and produced on his mind a strong apprehension that the American Methodists might be in a state of schism. He again shut himself up in his study, and applied himself closely to the perusal of such works on the subject as he could procure.

“ During this investigation, he attended no place of worship, and determined to attend none until he had succeeded in discovering the true Church. Finally, he came to the conclusion that Scripture as well as primitive antiquity concurred in requiring an external commission derived from Christ through his Apostles, as the only warrant for the performance of the ministerial office. He became convinced, also, that the possession of such a ministry was a necessary mark of the true Church, and that all religious bodies destitute of that ministry are in a state of separation from the primitive fold. By the light of ecclesiastical history he now traced the Apostolic succession through the early Church, and found it still existing in the Greek and Roman Churches, as well as in the Episcopal Churches of England and America. A Romanist he could not become, because ecclesiastical history had shown him the origin of Roman Catholic errors, and the superior purity of antiquity. He therefore connected himself with the American Episcopal Church : since here he found all that is best in Romanism without its corruptions ; all that is valuable among the dissenters, without their disorders.

“ He afterwards imported from abroad, at a great expense, an admirable library, containing most of the primitive fathers, and the voluminous writings of former times on the subject of Church history. His convictions were complete, and he devoted his time and money, with unsparing liberality, to the diffusion of those important truths which he had so providentially acquired.”—p. 226—228.

Dr. Chapman, who is mentioned in the last extract, is a vigorous and striking writer. No wonder that thoughtful men come over to the Church, when a powerful cause has such powerful advocates. We have put one of his works at the head of this article; and it will contribute to inform the reader of the present state of the American Church, (which is one chief reason for our selecting the subject,) if we here set before him some specimens of Dr. Chapman's writings. If we chose to be hypercritical, we should confess that we are not altogether pleased with the tone of all that occurs in the following quotations; but we make them to show the effective way in which American preachers urge the unity and stability of the Church against the discordance and variations of the sects around her.

Take, for instance, the following noble passage.

"I will even suppose that the Scriptures were silent upon the subject, so as to leave it optionable with us to have the ministry we pleased, and only insisting upon uniformity, yet would there be insuperable difficulties attending a resort to that which is Presbyterian, owing to the immense number of rival claims, which would forthwith make their demands upon our choice. Decision must be had between two and three hundred sects, and as many creeds. Out of such a labyrinth of confused and devious paths, which is to be preferred? Ye cannot tell, for that would to agree, and to agree ye will not. Were the selection to be made by us, the clamour of the unselected would never be appeased, because the pretensions of many are about equal, and the residue are indisposed to abate a fraction of their crudest dogmas. But were the question first narrowed down to the ministry alone, and ye were to select the episcopal on the ground of its apostolic origin, there would not be two or three hundred, there would not be two churches to distract your attention. Our Church is one and indivisible. Had it as many creeds as your Presbyterianism admits of, it could not be the pillar and ground of the truth. A great many good things may be extracted from your several communions. But what of this? We want them all in one, and the Church is that one. Come then, beloved brethren, all ye who have hitherto wearied yourselves with endless divisions and heresies, come, renounce them all, and enter into the ark which God hath prepared for the salvation of his saints, when the deluge of wrath shall overwhelm the host of the ungodly. Never should ye suffer it to escape from your memory, that 'Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.' It may satisfactorily account to you for the zeal with which her cause is advocated, and the immensity of her blessings tendered to your acceptance. But whatever may be your thoughts, and whatever your decision, however ye may acknowledge or withstand the institutions of God, unite with or keep aloof from the Bride of his Anointed, the strength of my attachment will not be impaired, it can only increase with increasing years, only fail to glow within my heart, when that

heart shall become cold and still for ever. ‘For Zion’s sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem’s sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth. Amen.’”—p. 374.

In another place he says,

“I believe it was the learned Dissenter, Selden, who said ‘*Scrutami Scripturas*’ (Search the Scriptures), these two words have undone the world; because Christ spoke them to his disciples, therefore we must all, men, women and children, read and interpret the Scriptures.’ He does not mean to cast reproach on their general perusal; or, if he does, God forbid! that any man should countenance the insanity of such a project. But the crude and fanciful interpretations of ignorance, these, certainly, should call out the marked disapprobation of every true friend of Jesus. They have brought into existence the many sects of Shakers, Ranters, Sandemanians, Dunkers, Southcotians, Mormonists, with a long, long list of equally blind fanatics. And when private individuals have followed up their miserable glosses upon the sacred text, by assuming the clerical office, or the more enlightened denominations have conferred it upon the merest drivellers in biblical knowledge, then, indeed, we may feel with Selden, that if the world be not undone, the Christian part of it is sadly annoyed and disfigured by all manner of strange conceits and superstitious practices. In these United States, there are hundreds of preachers who cannot even read the Bible they undertake to expound. The qualification of others is limited to vociferation and riot, excitement and passion, incredible tales and incoherent exclamations. Sermons have degenerated into a disconnected series of anecdote, and pastoral visits into convenient vehicles for the retail of gossip. For the form of sound words we have jargon. For the excellency of sound doctrine, multitudes are destined to listen to the vagaries and the cant of empiricism.”—p. 349.

In another sermon, when engaged in answering the position which is the *reductio ad absurdum* of sectarianism, that the Church is the better for division, he thus speaks:

“Far the largest part of the world is still unenlightened by its only moral luminary. And on the supposition that the original Apostles were to re-appear for the purpose of converting the heathen to the knowledge of the true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, what, I demand, would be the course adopted by them, the system they would deem it advisable to employ? Would they fashion themselves after their former conduct, or be induced to avail themselves of the experience ye have had, in new, and, to them, untried developments. Consider, then, that if the Apostles, under such circumstances, were to pursue their previous course, it would be in strict conformity to the directions Jesus gave them when ‘speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.’ He was for one Church, and they would be for one, the same over which he presided as the Great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls. He said nothing about Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, or the other Dissenters, and the like silence would be preserved by them,

unless indeed the rebuke should be given, to which reference was made in my prior publication. ‘Every one of you saith, I am of Calvin, and I, of Brown, and I, of Munzer, and I, of Wesley, is Christ divided?’ He must have known the most eligible mode of propagating the religion he came to reveal, and they would not venture to claim the honour of discovering a more lively and experimental way. Great difficulties also, brethren, would necessarily attend the preference on their part of your ecclesiastical polity. Not more than twenty Apostles are mentioned in the Scriptures. Many of you insist that there were thirteen only who enjoyed this high dignity. And supposing these to be now engaged in evangelizing the pagan nations, on your multitudinous system of sects, each individual would be obliged to found some fifteen or twenty discordant churches, in order to include the two or three hundred, which have contrived to make themselves acceptable to the Christian world. In what strange inconsistency therefore would all this involve the chosen of Christ. It would not be enough for the Apostles to set up severally some one of the principal religious denominations, putting the whole college at irreconcilable variance with each other. Not only must John advocate Episcopacy, and James, Presbyterianism; Peter, the theological unity of the Divine nature, and Thomas, a Trinity in Unity; Philip, everlasting happiness to the righteous only, with the like duration of misery to the unrighteous, and Bartholomew, the more gratifying doctrine of universal salvation; Jude, the baptism of infants, and Matthew, its limitation to believers; Andrew, the perpetuity of the sacraments, and Simon, the Canaanite, their eventual disuse; James, the son of Alphæus, baptism by sprinkling, and Matthias, by immersion; Paul, the *Supra*, and Barnabas, the *Sub-lapsarian* dogma; Timothy, an unlimited, and Titus, a limited atonement; Silas, a personal, and Epaphroditus, a spiritual reign of Christ upon the earth for the space of a thousand years;—but in addition to this, every one of the Apostles must prepare himself to bring forward at least twenty different sects, and school his conscience to contend earnestly for the faith of as many opposing creeds. Instead of the prayer of Christ being strictly fulfilled, ‘Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are;’ instead of such fulfilment, principles must be embraced and carried out of this nature,—divide and subdivide, contradict each other and contradict your own selves, create this schism in one place and that in another, pronounce justification to be by faith in the morning, and by works in the afternoon. So shall ‘ye continue in my word,’ and be ‘my disciples indeed;’ ‘ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.’

“Where then is the sectarian so entirely void of reason, as to believe that were the Apostles now conversant with men, they would proceed to Christianize the heathen, on this antagonizing plan, rather than confide in the old paths, wherein they were once divinely trained to go forth conquering and to conquer? Placed in an attitude so glaringly absurd, it is scarcely possible to conceive of a fatuity of intellect, excessive and incurable as this. Madmen only could subscribe to such madness; knaves alone, to its coming within the bounds of credibility. It is one

thing to enlodge disunion and contradiction, when, in the revolution of ages, they have been gradually introduced, and another to ascribe their origin to the instruction of holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Often does the natural world bring forth monsters, and in the nursery of schism their parturition is by no means rare. But inspiration is an infallible security against all error. Inspired men could not be left to fasten a medley of contradictions upon the Divine decree. The Church proclaimed by them, whether it were yesterday, to-day, or to-morrow, must of necessity be one, even as God himself is one."—pp. 333, 334.

And now, having said enough by way of introducing the reader to the American Church in its present state, we proceed to our main point, which is as follows. We have been surveying the remarkable birth of this Church out of the ashes; its instinctive appreciation of the succession; its silent cherishing of it when obtained; and afterwards its sudden and vigorous development. Yet there is a very great deal to do still in America in the way of both the extension and the development of the apostolical principle; extension through the body of Churchmen, development as regards itself. The former of these deficiencies every one will admit; many of its members do not yet hold the doctrine of the succession, though the number of maintainers is increasing. So far, however, every thing is as we could wish; nothing substantial can be done in a hurry. "A great, and it is believed, an increasing number of the clergy," says Mr. Caswall, "are strong in their assertion of the apostolical succession, and decline ecclesiastical intercourse with dissenting bodies."—p. 331. Again: "In every diocese there are very many, sometimes a great majority both among the clergy and the laity, who habitually consider their bishop as possessed of apostolical authority, transmitted in an unbroken chain from the primitive ages. This opinion gives a dignity to the office in the estimation of the religious, such as no temporal wealth and no worldly titles could confer."—p. 86. All this is as well as it could be; but what we are anxious about, what meets with serious impediments, and is seldom even recognized as desirable, is the second of the above desiderata, the full and unreserved development of the apostolical principle itself. American Christians possess and profess a high gift; but as yet they appear scarcely to understand, any more than ourselves, what that possession and profession involve. We shall devote the remainder of what we have to say to this point; perhaps we may be somewhat free; but if we speak with good temper and a kind purpose, which we hope we shall, we have a right to some portion of that republican liberty which our brethren allow to each other and consider a virtue. To convey our meaning, we must begin some way back, at the risk of seeming ambitious.

All systems, then, which live and are substantive, depend on some or other inward principle or doctrine, of which they are the development. They are not a fortuitous assemblage of atoms from without, but the expansion of a moral element from within. They cannot die a natural death till this moral element dies, though of course, they, as every thing below, may be overcome by violence. But they are indestructible considered internally, while their informing principle continues; for it is their life. They have nothing within of a self-destructive nature; every thing is evolved from one and the same formula; part cannot quarrel with part, both being results or transformations of one. Their parts cohere, not from any immediate junction or direct association, but because they all spring from a principle, and in that principle resolve. While their inward life remains, they repair their losses; if existing portions are cut off, they put out fresh branches. But when that goes, they are no more; they have no being, they dissolve. However fair they may look for a time, whether state, nation, society, church, university, moral agent, they are dead; and if they continue in appearance, still they are but phantoms, kept together by extraneous influences acting for extraneous purposes. Unity without is a result of unity within; but when there is nothing real within, what appears is as little real and substantive as a man's face in a glass, which is not the bodily development of a soul, but the result of certain external laws of matter. And, it must be confessed, there are in the world a great number of these unreal beings and mockeries, whether in politics, religion, or morals; things like card-houses, or scenes in a playhouse, which make up an effect, but have no inside;—standing by the force of habit because no one meddles with them, and crumbling to bits directly they are touched, or patched up and made decent by the interest of parties, or recommended by the character or influence of individuals. Such a creature of time and chance many men have thought and think our own Church to be; and such she is proved not to be, as in ten thousand other ways, so especially as we noticed in the outset, by her vigorous offshoots growing up in the West. She scattered some of her flowers in the wilderness; and, while for a time they seemed to die, a spirit at length was found within them, which rose, throve, and at length took outward shape like her own. Thus she proved herself to be a living principle: she showed that her very dust is spiritual; that a soul is in her smallest portions; that when she imparts herself anywhere, be it in small or great measure, she gives herself whole and entire; she cannot give part of herself; she gives spirit not matter, and by the energy of existence, multiplies images of herself on every side. How unequal to great purposes, how

shapeless and how unorganized were the companies which roamed from her bosom to the American continent! Without the look of a Church and without the knowledge of their want. But a Church was *in* them, and when they came together in one, the spirit spake out. The word was in their hearts as a burning fire shut up in their bones, and they were weary of forbearing and could not stay. They had been without bishops, without ordinances, scattered among the mixed multitude of sectarianism and heresy; but they were different from them within, though in outward respects alike. They had a creative principle in them, which the others had not. Others might tend to utter apostasy. Puritans might become Socinians; Baptists might form and reform, resolve and change like a kaleidoscope; Shakers, Dunkers, Swedenborgians, Mormonites, might flit around them, but they, through God's mercy, were what they were and nothing else. They were ever tending upwards, not downwards, struggling upwards amid obstacles to the pure light of the Gospel, and, if let alone, then, by the power of the gift in them, ever developing into Churches, breaking forth into the Apostolic polity and the Catholic faith.

Still, it is true that obstacles might keep them down, and impede, or mutilate, or distort the development of the heavenly seed; and this, it would appear, is more or less the actual condition of every Church all over the world. None is fully and simply developed into its full proportions, *totis numeris absoluta*; all meet with external impediments, not the same everywhere, but some or other which succeed in distorting and crippling them. One suffers from the influence of the temporal power, another from heathen masters, a third from the popular voice, a fourth from the schools of philosophy, a fifth from national improvements, or civil institutions. One and all are tempted and more or less warped by fear of man, or covetousness, or sloth, or desire of rule, or present expediency, or the pride of reason. The inward principle develops a certain way, but partially and unequally, issuing in an inconsistent, or inchoate, or disproportionate creed and polity. The American Church, if for no other reason, at least as being in her infancy, cannot hope to be free from this imperfection. In saying this we are bringing no heavy charge against her, since we as little arrogate such a good and perfect gift to any of ourselves as to our American brethren.

But it is one thing to profess to have attained, another to profess the necessity of attainment; one thing to aim at, another not to seek or comprehend, unity of idea and action. And at this day, it is our habit, on both sides of the Atlantic, neither to desire nor understand real unity,—not to take in the idea that

effects follow from causes, and that a contradiction is self-destructive; but to call it moderation and judgment to sit down deliberately between two stools or to leap into the ditch, and ultraism to clear it, extravagance to dare to be consistent and to endure the conclusions of our admitted premises. Instead of viewing the Gospel system as a living growth, like "some tall palm," beautiful as being at once one and many, we build it up course by course, as we spread our layers of brick and mortar. Our architecture at the present day is a type, or rather an effect, of our state of mind. The lines of our buildings do not flow on, nor their arms expand, and return into themselves, as being the expansion of one whole idea, but we seem to be ever congratulating ourselves we have got so far, and to be asking "What shall we do next?"—range rising upon range, and mass placed aside of mass, without even the merit of being excrescences. And we make up for want of meaning in the whole by stress and earnestness in the parts; we lavish decorations on bit by bit, till what was at first unmeaning, ends by being self-contradictory.

Now as to the American Church, it has been her privilege to begin with so clear an announcement of that rudimental truth on which all true Churches rest, that we cannot but believe she is destined, in spite of obstacles, to advance onward to the measure of the stature of its perfect fulness. She has got it in her, and with gratitude we add, that the most considerable of her bishops, living and dead, have developed it accurately no little way. They have gone forward from one truth to another; from the Apostolic commission to the succession, from the succession to the office,—in the office they have discerned the perpetual priesthood, in the priesthood the perpetual sacrifice, in the sacrifice the glory of the Christian Church, its power as a fount of grace, and its blessedness as a gate of heaven. They had felt and taught most persuasively the unearthly supernatural state in which all Christians stand, and their real communion in the invisible kingdom of God. You would not know whether you were in America or England while their books were before you, in Birmingham or New York, amid collieries or sugar-canes. The external world sinks to its due level; and universal suffrage is as little found there as the House of Commons. How much further they ought to have gone, what doctrines they left latent, and what they but half developed, we have neither purpose nor ability to say; but without determining what would be presumptuous, so much we may safely maintain, that there is no conceivable point of opinion, or practice, or ritual, or usage, in the Church system, ever so minute,—no detail of faith and conduct ever so extreme, but what might be a legitimate and necessary result of



that one idea or formula with which they started. Mammoths and megatheria are known by their vertebræ; men's bodily temperaments have sometimes been discriminated by their nails; and in like manner there is no development ever so ultimate but may be the true offspring of the Apostolical principle. A gesture, a posture, a tone, a word, a symbol, a time, a spot, may be its property and token, whatever be the real difficulty of ascertaining and discriminating such details; nay, and it is not fully developed till it reaches those ultimate points, whatever real danger there be of formality. However, let us see how far the American divines have proceeded, for that is the first point which comes into consideration.

We shall refer to three bishops of their Church; and first to the sermons of Dr. Seabury of Connecticut, the first consecrated diocesan bishop. What makes them more interesting is that they seem to have been covertly controversial,—efforts, and successful efforts, at development, in spite of opposite influences which were assailing the nascent Church.

“The authority under which the Apostles acted being derived from Christ, in the exercise of it they were His ministers, because the authority was originally and properly His, and they could act only in His name; and this authority being by successive ordinations continued down to this day, all duly authorized clergymen now act by it, and are therefore ‘the ministers of Christ.’ On this commission is the authority of ministers in Christ’s Church founded, and no man can justly claim any power in spiritual matters but as it is derived from it. No one will now pretend to have received his commission to preach the Gospel immediately from Christ, as the eleven Apostles had theirs, and none but enthusiasts will pretend to be empowered for that work by immediate revelation from heaven, as St. Paul was. It remains, then, that there is no other way left to obtain a valid commission to act as Christ’s ministers in His Church, but *by an uninterrupted succession of ordinations from the Apostles. Where this is wanting, all spiritual power in Christ’s Church is wanting also*, while they who have any part of this original commission communicated to them are properly Christ’s ministers, because they act in His name and by authority derived from Him. It would be tedious to quote particular texts to prove that the Apostles did exercise this power in the Church. The whole tenour of the history of their Acts and their Epistles clearly show that they did institute a plan of Church government, enact laws, appoint governors and officers to regulate the economy of the Church as a society, as well as to preach the doctrines of the Gospel. And from ecclesiastical history, it appears that the government and officers instituted by them do continue in their successors at this present time, notwithstanding the utmost force of persecution which the malice of evil men and wicked spirits could bring upon it. Though in some places veiled in poverty and obscurity; in others, encumbered with worldly pomp and ceremonious superstition,

the Church of Christ still continues in the world preserved by His Providence who promised that 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;' and we trust preserved to rise again with splendour, and to shine forth, delivered from the shackles of worldly power and systematic superstition, in the full lustre of the beauty of holiness, both in its public offices, and in the faith and piety of its members."—vol. i. p. 12.

He thus speaks in another sermon of the holy Eucharist:—

"That there was, however, a *great and real change* made in the bread and the cup by our Saviour's blessing and thanksgiving and prayer, cannot be doubted. Naturally they were only bread and wine, and not the body and blood of Christ. When He had blessed them, He declared them to be His body and blood. *They were, therefore, by His blessing and word, made to be, what by nature they were not.*"—p. 149.

"The Eucharist is not only a sacrament, in which, under the symbols of bread and wine according to the institution of Christ, the faithful truly and spiritually receive the body and blood of Christ, but also, a *true and proper sacrifice*, commemorative of the original sacrifice and death of Christ, for our deliverance from sin and death—a memorial made before God to put Him in mind, that is, to plead with Him, the meritorious sacrifice and death of His dear Son, for the forgiveness of our sins, for the sanctification of His Church, for a happy resurrection from death, and a glorious immortality with Christ in heaven. From this account the priesthood of the Christian Church evidently appears. As a priest, Christ offered Himself a sacrifice to God, in the mystery of the Eucharist, that is, under the symbols of bread and wine, and He commanded His Apostles to do as He had done. If His offering were a sacrifice, theirs was also. His sacrifice was original, theirs commemorative. His was meritorious through His merit who offered it, theirs drew all its merit from the relation it had to His sacrifice and appointment. His, from the excellency of its own nature, was a true and sufficient propitiation for the sins of the whole world, theirs procures remission of sins only through the reference it has to His atonement. When Christ commanded His Apostles to celebrate the holy Eucharist in remembrance of Him, He with a command gave them power to do so, that is, *He communicated His own priesthood to them*, in such measure and degree as He saw necessary for His Church, to qualify them to be His representatives, to offer the Christian sacrifice of bread and wine as a memorial before God the Father of His offering Himself, once for all, of His passion and of His death, to render the Almighty propitious to us for His sake, and as a means of obtaining, through faith in Him, all the blessings and benefits of His redemption.

"The Eucharist is also called the communion of the body and blood of Christ, not only because by communing together we declare our mutual love and good will, and our unity in the Church and faith of Christ, but also, because in that holy ordinance we communicate with God through Christ, the Mediator, by first offering or giving to Him the sacred symbols of the body and blood of His dear Son, and then

receiving them again *blessed and sanctified by His Holy Spirit*, to feast upon at His table, for the refreshment of our souls, for the increase of our faith and hope, for the pardon of our sins, for the renewing of our minds in holiness, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and *for a principle of immortality to our bodies as well as to our souls.*"—p. 156.

To Bishop Seabury is owing the restoration to the consecration prayer in the American Communion Service, of the oblatory words, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit; "which," as Bishop White reminds us, "were left out of our own service at a subsequent review in King Edward's time, at the instance of two learned foreigners."\* Bishop Seabury's feeling on the subject may be learned, from a circumstance which Bishop White has preserved to us. On the Sunday morning during the session of the Convention in the course of which the restoration was made, the latter wished Bishop Seabury to consecrate. He declined. On the offer being repeated just before the service, he again declined, and smiling, added, "To confess the truth, I hardly consider the form to be used as strictly amounting to a consecration." This of course was a strong saying; but no wonder it was the means of effecting the desirable change.

In another sermon he speaks thus of both sacraments:—

"We are by the grace of Holy Baptism taken out of the world and put into the Church of Christ, the ante-type of the garden into which Adam was put when God took him from the world in which he had been created. The same Holy Spirit is given to us at our baptism, as the governing principle of life, which was given to Adam at his creation, as the principle of his life. The Holy Eucharist, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, is appointed for us, as the tree of life was for Adam, to be to us the principle or means of immortality."—p. 220.

He speaks of the state of the dead in the same forcible way.

"That it was the belief of the primitive Christians, as well as of the old Jews, that at the departure of the soul from the body it went to a secret, invisible place, provided by God for its residence, there to remain till the general judgment; the wicked in uneasiness, remorse and despair; the good in peace and refreshment, with an assured hope of God's favour, and a full acquittal at the final retribution; that this was the belief of Jews and Christians, might be fully proved from Jewish authors, and from the old liturgies and writings of the Fathers, did the compass of this discourse permit it. *On this ground stood the commemoration of the martyrs, and prayers for the faithful departed out of this life*, that God would grant them rest and peace in Christ, and free acquittal in the day of judgment; and to give us grace to follow the example of their faith and patience, that with them we might be made

\* Memoirs, p. 151.

partakers of his heavenly kingdom, through the merit of Jesus, the Saviour. This they supposed necessary on their part, to keep up the communion of saints or fellowship with the Church of Christ; which is still one and the same, whether suffering here on earth, or at rest in paradise, and waiting in hope for perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, when the judgment of the last day shall give them their portion in that life eternal, which God hath promised to all who obey the Gospel of his Son.

*“Every one, who will consider the subject without prejudice, must feel the force of such a principle in promoting the faith and holiness, which the Gospel requires; and will lament that the Church of Rome, by grafting the absurd errors of purgatory and prayers to departed saints, instead of, for them, on this old and pious, and Catholic, Christian doctrine, hath almost banished it out of the minds of Protestant Christians.”*—p. 196.

It is scarcely necessary to add that he was not behind these truly apostolical sentiments in his views of Confirmation.

“In baptism, He (the Holy Ghost) is given for the purpose of regeneration—to effect that new birth, by which we are born into the Church of Christ, obtain remission of all past sins and a new nature; in Confirmation, He is given for the purpose of sanctification or renovation of the heart in holiness. In Baptism, we are created anew in Christ Jesus, by the operation of the Holy Ghost; in Confirmation, the new creation is animated and enabled to live according to its new nature, by the energy of the same most Holy Spirit. As in the original creation of man, God made the body first, and then breathed into it the breath of life, to animate the body which he had made, and enable it to answer the purposes for which he designed it; so in our new creation, being buried with Christ in Baptism, we die to the former life of the old man, and rise again to a new life; and, in Confirmation, the Holy Ghost, as the principle of that regenerated, new or spiritual life, is infused into us from above. In Baptism, we are made Christians; but yet the new baptized is but an infant in Christ; in Confirmation, he is advanced to the rank of adults and made a perfect man in Christ Jesus.”—p. 135.

Now to turn to Bishop Dehon and Hobart; and, first, of the latter. He thus speaks of the Christian ministry in an ordination sermon.

“It is the distinguishing dignity of this office, and it will constitute also its tremendous responsibility, that it resembles in its origin, and in many of its important functions the priesthood of Jesus Christ. As the Father sent him in his human nature to be the Prophet, a Priest and a Ruler of his people, so he sent his ministers to the end of the world to be the instructors, the *priests* and the governors of his Church. He glorified not himself to be an high priest, but he that said unto him, ‘Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee;’ so they, the ministers of his Church, take not this honour to themselves, but are called of God, as was Aaron, by an external commission. He received the anointing of the Spirit, and they receive, *by the laying on of the hands*

of that apostolic succession, in which the power of ordination is vested, the gift of the Holy Ghost—that gift of office, by which they became invested with power to minister in holy things.”—p. 13.

Accordingly we find him in 1818 addressed by, and addressing, the chiefs of the Oneidas, thus :

“ Right Reverend Father,—As head and father of the Holy and Apostolic Church in this state, we entreat you to take a special charge of us. We are ignorant, we are poor, and need your assistance. Come, Venerable Father, and visit your children, and warm their hearts by your presence in the things which belong to their everlasting peace. . . . My children,—I beseech you to attend to the instructions of your faithful teacher and brother, Eleazar Williams ; to unite with him in the holy prayers of our Apostolic Church, which he has translated into your own language ; to listen with reverence to the Divine Word which he reads to you ; to receive, as through grace you may be qualified and may have an opportunity, the sacraments and ordinances of the Church ; and at all times and in all places to lift up your hearts in supplication to the Father of your spirits, who always and everywhere hears and sees you, for pardon and grace, to comfort, to teach, and to sanctify you through your divine mediator, Jesus Christ.”—*Life*, p. 221—223.

In another of his posthumous sermons, he gives the following precise account of the supernatural state of the Christian Church.

“ It is indeed a truth, established by the whole tenour of the apostolic writings, that the blessings of salvation are ordinarily conveyed through the instrumentality of the Church, of which Christ is the Head and Saviour, and that *by union with this Church*, penitent believers are made partakers of all the benefits of his death and passion. ‘ The Lord added to the Church such as should be saved,’—‘ Christ is the Head of the Church, the Saviour of the body,’—‘ We are one body in Christ, members of his Body.’ The blessings which Christians derive from Christ, *by virtue of their union with the Church*, which is his Body, may be summed up in the following :—

“ 1. Pardon of sin, through the merits of his blood.

“ 2. Spiritual life, holiness and protection, through the power of his grace.

“ 3. A title to that inheritance of glory, to which the Church will finally be exalted.

“ Behold then, brethren, what exalted blessings are conveyed and pledged to us, *through the Church*. The merits of the Redeemer’s blood is applied to us, and thus we are assured of the forgiveness of our sins ; the influences of his Holy Spirit are bestowed upon us, by which we are renewed to holiness, and strengthened to resist temptation and to overcome in our Christian warfare ; and it is as faithful members of Christ’s Church militant on earth, that we become heirs of the glory and bliss of his Church triumphant in heaven.

“ It would be great presumption indeed to confine salvation to the Christian Church. God is not ‘ a hard master, reaping where he has not sown, and gathering where he has not strawed ;’ and therefore,

where the Gospel is not proclaimed, he will not exact, as the condition of salvation, communion with that Church, into which men have no opportunity of entering. The influences of that grace, which Christ hath purchased for all men, may extend where it is not made known, or conveyed by visible signs and pledges; and those who endeavour to act according to the dictates of reason and conscience, will finally be judged according to what they have, and not according to what they have not; but *the rewards conferred on them will not be as great* as those adjudged to those faithful members of Christ's mystical body, who, through their communion with the Church, enjoy the means and pledges of his grace and mercy.

"Still, wherever the Gospel is proclaimed, *the Church is the appointed mode of salvation*, for it is that mystical body, of which Christ is the Head and Saviour, to which he applies the merits of his blood, which he sanctifies by his Spirit, and which he will exalt, with its faithful members, to immortal glory."—p. 308.

He carries out his idea of the Church spiritual into those local habitations in which she is allowed to manifest herself.

"Particularly does God manifest his presence in the sanctuary, by the ordinances which are there administered; these are the means and pledges of his mercy and grace. In the sanctuary, the subjects of sin, the children of wrath, the heirs of mortality, coming with true repentance and faith, are translated by the Sacrament of Baptism, into that fold of the Redeemer, his mystical Body, the Church, where his mercy encircles them, his grace guides and sanctifies them, and makes them heirs of glory. They are confirmed in their title to the celestial privileges, and advanced to still higher degrees of bliss in the laying on of hands, that ordinance of Confirmation, in which they personally seal their baptismal vows. In the sanctuary is spread that holy table, in which, under lively symbols, Christian believers commemorate the stupendous sacrifice of the cross, and spiritually participate of that life-giving body and blood, which preserve their bodies and souls unto everlasting life."—p. 303.

No wonder that in an address to his Convention in 1817, he thus recommends to his brethren an observance, which he yet found it impracticable to introduce.

"Let the minister, as frequently as circumstances will admit, assemble his congregation for divine worship. . . . No opinion is more unfounded than that there is a deficiency as to the means of pious instruction and devotion in the forms of our Church. She has provided *daily morning and evening prayer*; and hence her ministers, when circumstances admit and require, can assemble their flocks for any purposes of Christian edification, not only daily, but twice in the day, and lead their devotions to heaven, &c."—*Life*, p. 201.

Let us now turn to the glowing language of the eloquent Dehon:—he is pleading the cause of a religious society in his diocese.

“What tokens shall we give him of our love? We cannot ‘pour upon his head a box of the most precious ointment,’ we can procure; nor ‘wash his feet with our tears and wipe them with the hair of our heads;’ we cannot watch with him while he sorrows or sleeps, nor say to him personally, ‘Thou knowest that we love thee,’ ‘All that we have is thine.’ How then shall we manifest palpably our affection towards him? We must espouse the cause which is dear to him. We must promote the work, which he desires to see accomplished. And especially upon *the Church, which he hath taken into so near a connection, as to make it one with himself*, we may bestow tokens of our regard, which he will thus receive. The Church he loves. *With the Church he hath left the records of his truth, the representatives of his power, and the symbols of his presence.* For the Church, as his Body, he is constantly interceding in heaven, ‘that he may present it unto himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.’ And if what is ‘done to one of the least’ of the members of this his Body, is considered ‘as done unto him,’ with what gracious satisfaction will he behold your gratitude employed in increasing the general health and vigour of the Body; in ‘lifting up its hands which hang down, and strengthen its feeble knees,’ and adding, by your munificence, to its reputation and beauty. You see then, my hearers, that this institution presents itself before you as an infant friend of your Redeemer. It stretches out its hands to you for your smiles and your help. It says to you, I would be strong, that I might go forth and build up the waste places of the city of God, and bring much people to the enjoyment of his peace and salvation. The spirits of those worthy laymen, who anciently sought the prosperity of the Church in these parts, seem to me to look down upon it, from their places of rest, and say, Jehovah prosper you. The spirits of the mild and pious Johnson, of the sensible and dignified Garden, and of those patient and intrepid clergymen, who, in the difficult years of the settlement of these regions, laboured in the word and doctrine, seem to me to lean from their seats of bliss and behold with delight the appearance of an institution, which will take up the work, in which they expended their labours and their lives. The spirits of your fathers, who once worshipped in the temples, which are desolate, and whose ashes rest in their cemeteries, seem to me to call to you from the skies to patronize in their steads this infant advocate of the Church which they loved. Yea! the Spirit of Jesus seems to me to be here, saying to you from his throne, ‘Take this child and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy reward.’ Daughters of Jerusalem! love ye your Lord; I know that you love him. When you have read of the faithful, the happy women, who embalmed his body, you have envied them their felicity. To share it with them is not in your power. But he hath a mystical Body, the Church. Upon that you may bestow the expressions of your regard for him. And how can you do it so effectually, as through the instrumentality of this institution, which, as Joseph cherished in his humiliation his earthly body, would cherish the mystical one, in which he delights to dwell. Sons of the Church! love ye your Lord; I trust that ye love him. When ye behold the wise men coming to-day to bring to

him their 'gifts, gold, frankincense and myrrh,' ye are struck with the grandeur of the scene, and are ready to say to the Author of so much good to our race, would we could do likewise. To bring your gifts to his presence, who has died that your sins might be pardoned, and is gone into heaven to intercede for you there, is not in your power. But you may bestow your gold, your frankincense and your myrrh, upon the Church, which is his Body. And how can you do it so effectually, as through the instrumentality of this institution, which, as the angels ministered in the days of his humiliation to his earthly Body, would strengthen his mystical one, with all the services it can devise?"—pp. 266—371.

Again:

"It has already been observed to you, that wherever the Deity is particularly present, it is with the retinue of his angels. This was eminently the case in the Jewish temple. And the Gospel favours the opinion that it is so in the places of Christian worship, in which God receives the homage of his redeemed creatures. In the earliest ages of the Church, before man had exalted himself above all created intelligence, this sentiment was carefully cherished. 'Hear thou me,' says one of the most eloquent of the Fathers, 'hear thou me and know that angels are everywhere, and that chiefly in the house of God they attend upon their King.' 'Doubt not,' says another of these primitive disciples of our Lord, 'that an angel is preserved, when Christ is offered.' And again, says the holy Chrysostom, 'when the Eucharist is celebrated, the angels stand by the priest, and the whole choir resounds with celestial powers, and the place about the altar is filled with them in honour of him who is laid thereon.' What sobriety should these considerations beget in us, when we come into God's house. How powerfully do they enforce that decency in worship, which the Apostle recommends, 'because of the angels.' Especially with what pure hearts and clean hands, with what reverence and godly fear, should we come to the Holy Table. Consider with whom you there stand, who are the spectators of your conduct, yea! who are the associates of your devotion, when you 'laud and magnify God's glorious name.'"—pp. 133, 134.

One more passage may be allowed us from so natural and warmhearted a preacher: speaking of the necessity of an appointed ministry, he says:

"Look through the pagan world, and observe everywhere a priest, where you find an altar, a sacred office where you find a God. Would you know the divine counsel in this particular? Behold the Deity, in the dispensation to his chosen people, selecting a particular tribe for his service, and confining to them the right and the duty of ministering in holy things. Above all, it should satisfy our minds upon this topic, that our Saviour did ordain selected men, authorizing them to send others, as he sent them, to preach his Gospel, to administer his ordinances, and to guide and govern his visible Church. 'Go,' said he, when about to leave our earth, to the Apostles, whom for this purpose he had chosen, 'go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to



observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' There arises, from the nature of the Christian ordinances, a peculiar necessity for an authorized ministry. *The sacraments* are of high and holy import, like the ark of the Covenant they are *not to be carried by unhallowed hands*. They are seals of an engagement between God and men. They are compacts between the Almighty Father and his repentant children, in which he pledges himself, upon condition of their faith and obedience, to give them the pardon of their sins, the blessing of his Spirit, and the enjoyment of eternal life. And who can sign the covenant of such mercies unto men, but they who act in God's behalf? And who can act in God's behalf, but they who act by God's authority? Not, oh not, that in those to whom this ministry is committed, there is any relation above the ordinary qualities of their fellow-beings. Every priest appointed to this service must be taken from among men, and, consequently, be subject to like passions with the rest of their race. It is, indeed, infinite condescension in the great God to employ, in the accomplishment of his mighty and gracious purposes, beings frail as we are; but perhaps, we may say, it is also wisdom. For hereby is secured to him, to whom alone it belongs, all the honour, all the praise, all the glory of the efficacy of the ministrations. 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels,' says St. Paul, speaking of the great Christian behest, entrusted to the ministry, 'we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us.' It is presumable, from the nature of the thing, that there would be found in the world an established priesthood, unto whom this ministry of reconciliation would be committed, for the edification of the Church. And blessed be our adorable Head, *such a priesthood there has been among his redeemed, from the first ministry of his Apostles unto the present day*, nor can we doubt his will, that after the way of his appointment, it should be perpetuated in the world until his coming again. Not that a mere outward and formal observance of the sacraments of Christianity will accomplish in us the purposes of the mission of the Son of God. But in the sacraments are deposited the mercy, the gifts, the refreshments, the renewals, the hopes, which we need, of all which they who resort to them with the requisite qualifications cannot fail to participate. On this account it was that attendance upon them constituted so large a part of the religious business of the primitive Christians, and that they spake of them in such lofty terms as the *laver of regeneration*, the *seed of immortality*, the *earnest of a resurrection*. Far different was the estimate of these ordinances in their days, from that which seems to prevail in ours. They were then the Christian Bethesdas, by which the penitent and believing waited, that when the angel moved the waters, they might wash in them from sin and uncleanness, and be restored to hope, and soundness, and vigour. And should we go about to ascertain why the Gospel is not now productive, in so great degree, as in the apostolic times, of its proper peace, and joy, and holiness, we shall probably find among the chief causes the uninformed manner in which some go to its sacraments, and the entire disregard with which the many neglect them. For besides

the general reasons to observe them, there are to every individual peculiar motives for this obedience. The sacraments of Christianity are ordained, not only to be of general use, but also for his individual benefit. He himself is washed in its baptism from the defilement of sin, and in its supper he himself is nourished with *the bread of immortality, which came down from heaven*. These ordinances are, to every man, the channel of divine mercy, the resort where the Church findeth her Lord. Here he leadeth her by the still waters. Here he causeth her to lie down in green pastures. Here he maketh his flock to rest at noon. Enjoined by Divine authority, we may not question their necessity; crowned with a Divine promise, we cannot doubt their efficacy; but we do owe it to ourselves, as well as to the Redeemer, who appointed them, and the Christian community to which we belong, to endeavour to walk after the footsteps of his ancient servants, 'in all his commandments and ordinances, blameless.'"—pp. 48—51.

It is pleasant to know that Bishop Dehon was as beautiful in his life and conversation as he is in his writings. He died in 1817, at the early age of forty-one, of the yellow fever; the personal tributes called forth by his death were of the warmest and deepest kind. Such are the principles of the American Church, legitimately resulting from her *idea*, as Catholic and Apostolic. Now let us consider the "extraneous influences," as Mr. Caswall justly calls them, which at present prevent their being duly understood, accepted, expanded, applied, by the body of her members.

Now, it is obvious, one most potent and continual disturbing force in the development of apostolical principles, is the circumstance above alluded to, of the spread of the Church among Dissenters. Action and reaction are equal, except where a Church is as firm as a rock, and in the present instance, while sectarians have gained from her, the Church has lost from them. Considering that half the existing hierarchy have had their baptism and education from dissent, it is truly marvellous that the Church is what she is; and it raises admiration and thankfulness in the Christian mind, for the innate power of that system, which could effect so much, with such a subject-matter to work upon. A Church must have the iron grasp of Rome to be able to catch, without being caught; nor is it to be expected that our American brethren will be free from this infirmity for a long time to come. But here we are concerned with more definite illustrations and causes of the existing state of American theology.

Let not the friends, then, of the American Church be startled, if we say that in her first years she suffered seriously, and still suffers, from certain influences, which are too grievous to give a name to, but of which she must fully be aware, if she is ever to get clear. In saying this, we are speaking of what Mr. Caswall, as we ob-

served, truly calls "*extraneous influences*;" we are very far indeed from implying that the source of them was in the body itself, or that they penetrated into the body, but they acted forcibly upon the body by external pressure, and have committed it to acts which have done much mischief ever since. Nor in this respect are we better circumstanced than they; we too in the time of the third William and the first Georges had certain impressions of the same kind made on us, which chilled, extenuated, and shrivelled up our faith and temper. What, indeed, is that desire of evidences, that delight in objection and spontaneous incredulity, that pursuit of secular comfort, that contentment with mere decency and morality, which in its degree exist still among us all, but remains of the Socinian temper inflicted on us during that calamitous period? Nor have those malign influences ceased. They have worked their way unseen; and whereas they are now more generally acknowledged than they were, they were detected years ago by one of the most keensighted men of his age, a name well known in America, Mr. Norris, of Hackney. He thus writes to Bishop Hobart in 1822.

"The American branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church is filling at this time a most important station upon the earth. What *our* future fortunes are to be it would be presumptuous to calculate upon. There is amongst us a large measure of genuine Christian zeal and decided Church principle, and both are upon the increase; but then there is a tremendous confederation, topped by false brethren, and *bottomed by Socinians*, who are working incessantly and systematically upon all departments of the community. The specific object of it is to make *schism catholic instead of unity*; unity therefore must fall, unless those who are its divinely appointed guardians cherish it with more than ordinary solicitude, and exercise an apostolic jealousy in maintaining *one* mind and *one* mouth among themselves."—*Hobart's Life*, p. 253.

This extract is curious as bearing on our general subject; but to return to the American Church:—the presence of a Socinian influence among her members was a subject of apprehension with some of the eminent persons in England who were interested or concerned in the question of their obtaining the succession. Mr. Granville Sharp, in a letter to Dr. Franklin, mentions the uneasiness occasioned at home, at reports which were circulated about the changes which the Americans intended to introduce into the Prayer Book. An "Episcopal congregation at Boston," he says, "adopted a liturgy formed after the manner of Dr. Clarke and Mr. Lindsay" (p. 315); and the Socinian party flattered themselves that the proceedings of the Convention indicated the same feeling. He adds that "the reports of Socinianism gave great offence to many worthy people" in England, "and more especi-

ally to the bishops, who had been sincerely disposed to promote the Church in America." The leaning which was thus evidenced in the East, was seconded from the South, for at that very Convention, concerning which the above-mentioned report had been circulated, so far was true that Mr. Page of Virginia, afterwards governor of the State, had moved to leave out the first four petitions of the Litany; "and instead of them," says Bishop White, "to introduce a short petition, which he had drawn up (!), more agreeable to his ideas of the Divine Persons recognized in those petitions." He professed not to object to the invocation of our Lord, "which, he thought, might be defended by Scripture;" but "the objection lay to the word Trinity, which he remarked to be unauthorized by Scripture, and a foundation of much unnecessary disputation." But since to admit only the fourth petition would leave the foregoing three liable to the charge of Tritheism, he thought it best on the whole to strike out all four. Nay, the general impression concerning the strength of the Socinianizing party was so strong at the time, that even Bishop Provoost of New York was believed, though, as it has since been shown, without foundation, to have advocated the omission of the fourth petition. This part of the Prayer Book, however, was saved; at the same time another portion of its contents, even more sacred, was sacrificed, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds; after mentioning which it is little to add that the clause of the Apostles' concerning the descent of Christ into hell was struck out also. On the remonstrance of the English archbishops the Nicene Creed was restored and the article in the Apostles', but the Athanasian remains excluded to this day. Even as much as this was not gained without a conflict. The Virginians instructed their deputies to the general Convention to be held at Philadelphia, to represent to the meeting that though "uniformity of doctrine would unquestionably contribute to the prosperity of the Church," yet they "earnestly wished that this might be pursued with *liberality and moderation*." "The obstacles," they continued, "which stand in the way of union among Christian societies are too often founded on *matters of mere form*. They are surmountable therefore by those who, breathing the spirit of Christianity, earnestly labour in this pious work. From the Holy Scriptures themselves, rather than the *comments of men*, must we learn the terms of salvation. Creeds therefore ought to be *simple*; and we are not anxious to retain any other than that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed." They proceed—"We will not now decide what ceremonies ought to be retained. We wish, however, that those which exist *may be estimated according to their utility*, and that such as may appear fit to be laid aside, may

no longer be appendages of our Church.”\* In spite of them, the Nicene Creed, as we have said, was restored; but as to the Athanasian, Bishop White observes that had the English archbishops insisted on its restoration, the pending negotiation for obtaining the succession “was desperate, because, although there were some who favoured a compliance, the majority were determined against it; among whom were two members present, *who had been chosen to the Episcopacy, and who voted against the restoration*, as appears on the journal.”† Here then we have distinct evidence of the presence of Socinianism, not of course introducing itself *into* the acts of the Church, whether more or less, but exerting an influence *upon* them; and this serious circumstance led us above to view with jealousy, what at first sight might have been welcomed without suspicion, the opinion expressed to Mr. Caswall by the Unitarian of Boston as to the possibility at one time existing, of the Church becoming the religion of his party, instead of the heresy which in fact prevails there. Nor is the following account pleasant which belongs to the date later than that of Mr. Caswall’s emigration.

“Here [at Andover] an opening for the Church had been made in a singular manner, and not the most desirable. The majority of the Congregational population having determined to remove their meeting-house to a more convenient situation, the minority were displeased and withdrew from the congregation. For some time it was doubtful whether they would engage a Unitarian or a Universalist minister to preach to them; but ultimately they concluded on becoming Episcopalians, and having drawn up articles of association, they elected a vestry and warden, and were admitted into union with the Church in Massachusetts. They assembled on Sunday in a school-house to the number of about forty or fifty; but although attentive to the sermon, they generally took slight interest in the worship, and made little use of the Prayer-Book. There were many amiable and worthy people among them, and a few decided Episcopalians; but I soon perceived that nothing but time and perseverance, with Divine help, could succeed in establishing the principles of the Church upon so uncongenial a soil.”—pp. 135, 136.

To tell the truth, we think one special enemy to which the American Church, as well as our own, at present lies open is a refined and covert Socinianism. Not that we fear any invasion of that heresy within her pale now, any more than fifty years ago, but it is difficult to be in the neighbourhood of icebergs without being chilled, and the United States is, morally speaking, just in the latitude of ice and snow. Here again, as our remarks will directly show, we mean nothing disrespectful towards our transatlantic relatives. We allude, not to their national character, or to

\* White’s Memoirs, p. 114.

† P. 107.

their form of government, but to their *employments* which we share with them. A trading country is the *habitat* of Socinianism. Mr. Caswall in one place speaks of its "alluring doctrines:" this may seem a strange description of them, but it is perfectly true, as he uses it. There is no accounting for tastes; and there is a moral condition of mind to which this dismal creed is alluring. Mr. Caswall's words are as follows:—"At Boston and Salem Unitarianism is very prevalent . . . and great numbers of the *rich and fashionable* are attached to its alluring doctrines."—p. 134. Not to the poor, the forlorn, the dejected, the afflicted, can the Unitarian doctrine be alluring, but to those who are rich and have need of nothing, and know not that they are "miserable and blind and naked;"—to such Unitarianism so-called is just fitted, suited to their need, fulfilling their anticipations of religion, counterpart to their inward temper and their modes of viewing things. Those who have nothing of this world to rely upon need a firm hold of the next, they need a deep religion; they are as if stripped of the body while here,—as if in the unseen state between death and judgment; and as they are even now in one sense what they then shall be, so they need to view God such as they then will view Him; they endure, or rather eagerly desire, the bare vision of Him stripped of disguise, as they are stripped of disguises too; they desire to know that He is eternal, since they feel that they are mortal. Such is the benefit of poverty; as to wealth, its providential corrective is the relative duties which it involves, as in the case of a landlord; but these do not fall upon the trader. He has rank without tangible responsibilities; he has made himself what he is, and becomes self-dependent; he has laboured hard or gone through anxieties, and indulgence is his reward. In many cases he has had little leisure for cultivation of mind, accordingly luxury and splendour will be his *beau ideal* of refinement. If he thinks of religion at all, he will not like from being a great man to become a little one; he bargains for some little sacrifice to his self-satisfaction; some little power of judging or managing, some small permission to have his own way. Commerce is free as air; it knows no distinctions; mutual intercourse is its medium of operation. Exclusiveness, separations, rules of life, observance of days, nice scruples of conscience, are odious to it. We are speaking of the general character of a trading community, not of individuals; and, so speaking, we shall hardly be contradicted. A religion which neither irritates their reason nor makes them uncomfortable, will be all in all in such a society. Severity whether of creed or precept, high mysteries, corrective practices, subjection of whatever kind, whether to a doctrine or to a priest, will be offensive to them. They

need nothing to fill the heart, to feed upon, or to live in, they despise enthusiasm, they abhor fanaticism, they persecute bigotry. They want only so much religion as will satisfy their natural perception of the *propriety* of being religious. Reason teaches them that utter disregard of their Maker is unbecoming, and they determine to be religious, not from love and fear, but from good sense. Now it would be a miserable slander on the American Church to say that she suited such a form of mind as this; how can she, with her deep doctrines of the Apostolic Commission and the Eucharistic Sacrifice; but this is the very point; here we see around her the external influences which have a tendency to stifle her true development, and to make her inconsistent and unreal. If in the English Church the deep sea dried up more or less in the last century, why should it not in the American also? Let the latter dread her extension among the opulent merchants and traders in towns, where her success has principally been. Many undesirable persons will begin to see in the Church what they can find no where else; the Sectarian doctrines are more or less enthusiastic; the Roman Catholic despotic; in the Church there is (or may be) moderation, rationality, decency and order, which are just the cardinal excellences, the highest *idéal* of truth, the first and only fair, to which their minds attain. If they are allowed a footing, a sleek gentleman-like religion will grow up within the sacred pale, with well-warmed chapels, softly cushioned pews, and eloquent preachers. The poor and needy, the jewels of the Church, will dwindle away; the clergy will sink in honour, and rich laymen will culminate. Already, Mr. Caswall informs us, "there are churches which rather resemble *splendid drawing-rooms* than houses of worship, and in which *the poor man could hardly feel himself at home*. Handsome carpets cover every part of the floor," and "the pews are luxuriously *cushioned* in a manner calculated to invite repose."—p. 289. Again:—"At Chillicothe [in Ohio] the Episcopal Church contains many of the *wealthier and more refined families*, but *has not established itself in the preference of the great mass of the religious people*, who are principally, as in other parts of Ohio, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists."—p. 55. Elsewhere he says, speaking *generally*, not of any particular place:

"In the congregation there are *few, if any, poor persons*, so that it is often difficult to dispose of the communion-*alms* according to the regulations of the Rubric. The Episcopal congregations are generally composed of highly-intelligent and respectable people, many of whom have received an excellent education. Hence, intellectual sermons are held in great esteem, and elegant composition is duly appreciated. Common-place discourses are disregarded, and old or borrowed ones are never

tolerated. Some oratorical genius is always necessary to clerical success in republican America."—p. 296.

We are aware it is a bold thing to speak of a Church a hemisphere off us: we are speaking from books not from practical knowledge; but we think we may say without fear of mistake, that pews, carpets, cushions, and fine speaking are not developments of the apostolical succession. Fathers and brethren, we would say, if we might venture a word, dispense with this world when you enter the presence of another. Throw aside your pillows; set wide your closets; break down your partitions; tear away your carpets. Open a space whereon to worship freely, as those to whom worship was the first thing; who come to repent, not to repose; to give thanks, not to reason; to praise, not to enjoy yourselves. Dispense with your props and kneelers; learn to go down on the floor. What has possessed you and us to get into boxes to pray, while we despise Simeon upon his pillar? Why squeeze and huddle together as you neither do, nor would dream of doing, at dinner-table or in a drawing-room? Let the visible be a type of the invisible. You have dispensed with the clerk, you are spared the royal arms; still who would ever recognize in a large double cube, with bare walls, wide windows, high pulpit, capacious reading-desk, galleries projecting, and altar obscured, an outward emblem of the heavenly Jerusalem, the fount of grace, the resort of angels?

Having touched on the circumstances of worship, we may as well here notice some other points connected with it, in which the American Church has not yet carried out her elementary principle.

Mr. Caswall, for instance, tells us that "the communion-table seldom occupies its appropriate place, but is often little more than a narrow board placed in front of the reading-desk, in the situation usually occupied by the clerk in the Church of England."—p. 280. He adds, however, that in some churches of recent erection, the altar occupies a conspicuous and somewhat elevated position in a recess at the extremity of the building opposite to the main entrance. This is a promising symptom of development going on in the Church, in spite of extraneous influences. At present, however, it marks the inconsistent state of things, that even so good a churchman as Mr. Caswall is but partially sensible of the position which the Holy Eucharist occupies in the Christian system. We hear nothing of its celebration in critical times, when we have a right to expect it; and no remark is made upon the omission. When that interesting man, Mr. Gunn, whose history has been given above in Mr. Caswall's words, at length fell in with a clergyman, Mr. Caswall, as our



readers will have observed, thus speaks :—"Once more after an interval of fifteen years, our lay-reader was permitted to *hear the word of life declared* by a commissioned ambassador of Christ."—(p.97). To hear? and not also to take, eat that living word, which a commissioned priest alone could give him? In Mr. Caswall's sketch of a diocesan convention, where he was present, he tells us "The members assembled at 10, A. M. They took their seats in the front pews, the remainder of the building being occupied by a number of respectable persons attached to the Church. The Bishop entered in his episcopal robes and took his seat within the rails of the communion-table. A clergyman appointed by the Bishop then read morning prayers; the Bishop performed the *ante-communion service*, and a sermon was preached by another clergyman. *After divine service*, the Bishop called the convention to order."—p.68. The business of the meeting follows; the meeting adjourns till the afternoon; it reassembles; the Bishop reads his annual address. He "urges upon the members the importance of *improving the occasion* by social prayer and *devotional fellowship*."—Committees make their reports, or are appointed; resolutions pass: so ends the first day. On the second, prayers and a sermon—then business—reports from parishes—"such further accounts as appeared likely to *interest or edify*." It meets again the third day, divine worship—a canon passed—committee appointed—resolutions—"the members of the convention having been hospitably treated by the inhabitants of the place" (exceedingly proper) a vote of thanks—a psalm sung—the episcopal benediction given—the convention "*finally adjourned*." Concerning the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, not a word. We speak of this as what happened in a particular case, which we have no right or wish to suppose a general rule. Indeed, in another place Mr. Caswall, speaking of the "regular Sunday services of a clergyman, says that the holy communion is generally administered once a month."—p. 294. And elsewhere he expressly speaks of its celebration at the Convention of Massachusetts in 1833.—p. 121.

The Gospel is a free gift, and in all its developments must take the shape of a free gift: it must not be *bought*; to the giver the receiver offers back of his best, but not as a bargain. What then are we to think of paying for seats in churches? or, if we have inherited the custom, what of extending it to the poor? yet we have the following uncomfortable account of what is taking place in the American Church :—"There are but few free seats in Episcopal churches, and in fact there is not the same necessity. Few persons are so poor, and *still fewer would be willing to accept it as a gratuity*."—p. 282. Why not say at once "few

persons are so poor as to accept the Gospel as a gratuity? Pride in things visible leads to pride in things unseen.

"The ancient practice of bowing at the name of Jesus is disused to a great extent; but some extenuation of this omission may be found in the circumstance that the custom is not enjoined by canon as it is in England."—p. 337.

"The practice of turning to the east when the creed is repeated has been entirely forgotten."—p. 295.

"The burial grounds are generally remote from the churches, and are never consecrated."—p. 283. "In the Table of Vigils &c. (in the Prayer-Book) the vigils are wholly omitted."—p. 243. "There is no place in America in which the service of a Church is performed daily, unless the General Theological Seminary at New York may be regarded an exception."—p. 295. "Some clergymen almost entirely neglect the observance of the feasts and fasts of the Church. I have known a few who have declined to celebrate Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, while they have united with other denominations in monthly meetings of prayer for missions, colleges, or other objects of interest."—p. 337. "The saints' days which occur during the week are very frequently left unnoticed, while weekly lectures on the nights of Wednesday or Thursday are very general."—*ibid.* "The service for the churching of women is seldom used, except in the case of English people, who desire to conform to the practice of their ancestors."—p. 299.

Here there is abundance to do in the way of development. If persons neglect the ordinances of the Church, it is because they do not believe their virtue and efficacy. If they thought the Church had a gift of grace, they would be instant in the times and places in which she dispenses it. It is difficult to prove that it is a *duty* to come to church daily; it is easy for a Churchman to feel that it is a *privilege*.

In the American Church bishops do not assume sees, but are named from their dioceses. In spite of whatever precedents may be urged in favour of this usage, we are clear that it is a piece of *purus putus Protestantismus*. It is difficult to analyze its *rationale*, but we have no doubt about the fact. The Church is *in* a country, not *of* it, and takes her seat in a centre. If a bishop has no throne or see, where is the one, *ὁ ἀπὸ*, the never-dying priest continual, who is the living apostle of the Church? Is a bishop a mere generalization of a diocese, or its foundation? a name or a person? Generalizations are everywhere, persons have a position. Does a bishop depend on his diocese, or his diocese on him? meanwhile the Roman Catholics have located their bishops, and though their succession in the country is later than ours, they have thus given themselves the appearance of being the settlers, not visitors.

On the other hand, we are glad to learn from Mr. Caswall

the following pleasing manifestations of a Catholic spirit in the details on worship;—at Christmas the churches are decorated with evergreens, tastefully hung in festoons. Since holly, box, and laurel cannot be obtained, “boughs of the cedar, pine, and hemlock are employed in their stead. These decorations are commonly arranged by the young ladies of the congregation.”—p. 283. This is as it should be; the same interesting class should also employ themselves in working altar cloths, and ornamenting service books, the *modicum* of embellishment which political revolutions have left us. Again:—

“The sign of the cross has lately made its appearance on many churches, agreeably with the early custom. Bishop Onderdonk, of New York, in a charge to his clergy, has commended the good taste displayed in this appropriate decoration; and has declared that only an anti-protestant feeling can consider the sign of the cross as symbolising the corruptions of Romanism.”—p. 282.

Both infants and adults are sometimes baptised by immersion, according to the rubric. This, again, is cheering news. In one Episcopal Church in Kentucky the font is in the shape of a large bath, six or seven feet in length. Several persons in Philadelphia have been baptised in the river, pp. 297, 298. Mr. Caswall observes, in another place,

“In baptist neighbourhoods there are episcopal clergymen who greatly desire to see the old English rubric restored, by which all persons were required to be immersed at baptism, except when they were sick and unable to bear it. I am acquainted with a small episcopal congregation situated in the midst of Baptists, in which not a single infant has been presented for baptism during seven years, the parents being greatly influenced by the arguments of the sectarians.”—p. 337.

This is a curious instance of “extraneous influences” working the right way.

But leaving these agreeable instances of the expansion of the Apostolical idea, which show that we have every thing to hope of the American Church, we must go on to allude, for our space will hardly allow us to do more, to a much more systematic and overt deflexion from Church principles than any which we have yet mentioned; the power usurped by the laity over the bishop’s jurisdiction, which at present is an utter bar to the due development of Catholicity. The Americans boast that their Church is not, like ours, enslaved to the civil power; true, not to the civil power by name and in form, but to the laity, and in a democracy what is that but the civil power in another shape? When Bishop Hobart returned from England he preached and published a Sermon, in which, among other evils in our Church, he freely, but not at all unwarrantably, expressed his regret at what his

biographer truly called "the extraordinary and inappropriate prerogative of the king, *through his ministers*, to designate the persons who shall be chosen for the episcopal office, whose authority is entirely divine, and the *absolute incapacity of the clergy* to exercise their ecclesiastical power independently of the state."—p. 353. He adds, "But here *no secular authority* can interfere with our high ecclesiastical assembly, nor control her legitimate powers." When this Sermon reached England it excited no little annoyance in certain quarters; and in the Quarterly Theological (before it became connected with the British Critic) a very bitter attack appeared, which called forth an answer from a generous friend of the Bishop's, the late Mr. Rose. It is unnecessary to go into the details of his conclusive defence of Bishop Hobart from the uncomfortable reflections which an apparently angry writer had thrown out against him. But it is to our purpose to observe the adroit and natural way in which, while defending a friend, he delicately retorts upon him and his the criticisms which the Bishop's Sermon had directed against us. The Bishop had been absurdly accused of ingratitude to his English hosts, merely for expressing opinions in America which in England he had frankly avowed to *them*! On this Mr. Rose observes,

"For myself I can only say, that if, after a sojourn in America, in speaking of American Episcopacy, I were to urge the strong tendency of an election for the high office of a bishop to produce intrigue, party feeling, and dispute among the clergy—if I were to state my exceeding dislike to make the clergy dependent on the voluntary contributions of the laity for support, and my belief that such a mode of provision would deprive them of that freedom of rebuke which I judge essential to the character of a Christian minister—if I were to object to the mixture of laymen in their Lower House of Convention—if I were to state these things in the honesty of my heart, in a deep conviction that these *were* evils, and in an unaffected regret to see them in a Church, for the excellences of which, as a true Episcopalian, I had the strongest respect, and for whose continuance and extension I devoutly prayed; I should feel both surprised and grieved that any man could be found who would proclaim me an abuse hunter for thus expressing my honest belief."—*Hobart's Life*, pp. 348, 349.

Now, of the three evils here specified Mr. Caswall acknowledges that of the voluntarism which obtains in his Church, and we have seen that there is a hope of its being in time removed. The evils existing in the elections of bishops he candidly confesses also, though he does not allow that they are necessary or unmixed. He speaks as follows:—

"The American people are accustomed to republican modes of procedure, and, accordingly it has been shown that the American Church is conducted almost entirely on the popular principle. But this is not all. While the benefits of a republican administration are secured to the Church, its evils are not wholly excluded. Hence the conventions, both diocesan and general, have occasionally been the scenes of intrigue, while in the election of a bishop there is sometimes an exhibition of the same party spirit which always accompanies the election of a governor or a president. I am far from asserting that these evils prevail equally in the Church as in the state. On the contrary, Christian courtesy, gentlemanly feeling, and the absence of many conflicting interests, tend greatly to restrain the spirit of faction; I only state the fact, that such an influence is exerted, felt, and acknowledged."—p. 329.

As to the third point, which is the one immediately before us, the introduction of the laity into the conventions, it is implied by the venerable Bishop White, in his *Memoirs of the American Church*, that that measure originated with him. In the work in question, he admits, that as regards the early Church, there is no ground for saying that the laity was more than "occasionally present" at its synodical deliberations, but "he thinks it evident that in *very* early times, when every Church, that is, the Christian people in every city and convenient district round it, was an ecclesiastical commonwealth, with all the necessary power of self-government, the body of the people had a considerable share in its determinations"—p. 86. And he argues that "the same sanction which the people gave originally in a body, they might lawfully give by representation." He concludes, then, "that if the matter pleaded for be *lawful*, the question of the propriety of adopting it ought to be determined by expediency." And that it is expedient, he determines first, because in the Church of England, which the American Church follows, the parliament has a most considerable synodical power; secondly, from the *difficulty* of introducing into America the Episcopal polity in any other way; and thirdly, from the *impossibility* of getting the laity to *submit* to ecclesiastical laws, (for instance, relating to admission or exclusion from the Lord's Supper,) enacted without their own concurrence. Here we see the operation of "extraneous influences." With all due respect to the memory of the venerable author of the pamphlet, we must express our strong feeling that such views imply an insufficient appreciation of the *developments* of the Apostolical Succession. He advocated them in a pamphlet published without his name in 1783, and the principle of lay government was carried by the Convention. This was *before* the introduction of the succession from England, or Dr. White's own consecration. The only bishop then in America was Dr. Seabury, of Connecticut; and he and his clergy strongly, though

ineffectually, protested against it. He wrote to Dr. Smith, of Maryland, with his characteristic clearness and cogency, sweeping away the doctrine of expediency, and joining issue on the question of historical facts. "The rights of the Christian Church," he said, "arise not from nature or compact, but from the institution of Christ; and we ought not to alter them, but to receive and maintain them, as the Holy Apostles left them. The government, sacraments, faith, and doctrine of the Church are fixed and settled. We have a right to examine what they are, but we must take them as they are. If we new model the government, why not the sacraments, creeds, and doctrines of the Church? But then it would not be Christ's Church, but our Church, and would remain so, call it by what name we please."\*

However, leaving the history of this important departure from primitive order, let us avail ourselves of Mr. Caswall's work to trace this element of lay interference through the various functions of American ecclesiastical government at the present time. And, first, as to the Diocesan Convention, which assembles once in the year. It consists of the bishop, all the clergy, and the lay delegates, of whom in some dioceses three, in others one, are sent by every parish. Thus the lay members of the synod are at least equal, and it may be treble the clerical, supposing, as appears to be the case, there is not more than one clergyman to a parish. In the convention at which Mr. Caswall was present, there were about thirty clerical, and about forty lay members. The committees, &c. appointed at the same meeting were constructed as follows: one clergyman and one layman to report on the unfinished business of the last convention; the standing committee of the diocese, three clergymen and three laymen; six clergymen and six laymen to be trustees of the diocesan college; four clergymen and four laymen as representatives of the diocese in the general convention; committees on missions and theological education seem to have been appointed on the same principle. Moreover, the selection of members was not in the hands of the bishop, but made by ballot. Clergy and laity vote together in convention, except there is a demand for what is called "a vote by orders." Then each class votes separately, and a majority of each is necessary for the proposed canon or resolution to pass. Thus the clergy, as Mr. Caswall observes, (p. 72,) can take no important step without the people, or the people without the clergy. In some few dioceses the bishop has a veto upon the acts of the Convention, but its exercise would be so unpopular that it is seldom exercised. It must be added, that among the matters which

\* White's Memoirs, p. 291.

come before the convention so constituted, are the mode of trying clergy accused of heresy, the conditions on which parishes should be admitted into the diocese, the qualifications of lay readers, the appointment of missionaries, and the promotion of theological education.

The Standing Committee of the Diocese require a somewhat more distinct notice. It consists, according to the diocese, of five, three, or two, of each order, clergy and laity. It is the council of advice to the bishop; during a vacancy it issues dismissory letters, institutes ecclesiastical trials, and acts, by means of its clerical members, as superintendent of the deacons. No bishop can ordain except such as bring testimonials, signed by a majority of the standing committee. No bishop can be consecrated without the consent of the majority of the standing committees of all the dioceses in the union, or of the general convention.

When clergy are accused of any delinquency, the standing committee of the diocese prosecute; and a jury of five presbyters, chosen by the accused out of eight nominated by the bishop, try the cause, and a majority decides, and specifies the amount of punishment. The bishop may not exceed the sentence adjudged.

When a bishop needs a coadjutor, he is appointed, not by himself, but by his diocese.

The General Convention comes now to be considered. It is divided into two houses; the upper, consisting of the bishops, now seventeen in number; the lower, of clerics and laymen, not exceeding four of each order from every diocese. When demanded by the deputies of any diocese, the voting is by dioceses, the lay representatives of each diocese having one vote, the clerics another. Sometimes the concurrence of both orders is necessary to constitute a vote. The general convention thus formed enacts canons about public worship, makes alterations in the Prayer Book, defines the observance of the Lord's day, directs the publication of the Bible and Prayer Book, and gives leave to bishops to compose extraordinary forms of prayers. It defines to a certain extent the duties of bishops, priests, deacons, candidates for orders, and standing committees. It determines on what conditions a person may be admitted a candidate, how he shall conduct himself during his probation, the due age for consecration and ordination, the attainments requisite, the testimonials, and the times of ordination. It superintends the clergy in preparing their flocks for the bishops' visitation, in catechising, in registrations; it confines their labours within their own province, arbitrates in differences between pastor and flock, and lays down the

law for clerical trial and punishment. It oversees bishops' charges, pastoral letters, visitations, and yearly reports of their acts to their respective diocesan conventions. It arbitrates between dioceses, it provides missionary bishops, it legislates on the ordination of sectarian teachers, it determines the relation of the American with foreign Churches, and it appoints the board of missions. These are the functions of a body constituted so largely of laymen.

Such is the serviceable sketch Mr. Caswall gives us of the constitution of the American Church; according to which, it would appear, without going to more apostolical considerations, that those whose business or profession is not religious, are in matters theological and ecclesiastical put on a level with bishop and clergy. We are quite sure such a constitution cannot work well; and if any one demurs, then we differ from him what is well and what is ill. It may throw light upon its practical working to quote a passage from another part of Mr. Caswall's work, which would seem to show that the laity, not to say the presbytery, would have no objection to the same high position in divine ministry, which they are allowed in convention.

"In the reading of the Creed a disagreeable confusion sometimes arises when a stranger officiates. In my own parish, on one occasion, a bishop performed the services in the morning, and two priests in the afternoon and evening. The bishop read the article on the descent into hell, as it stands in the English Prayer Book; the first presbyter read the substitute permitted in America, 'He went into the place of departed spirits;' and the second omitted the article altogether. Very frequently the clergyman says one thing and the congregation another; and occasionally individuals, disapproving of their pastor's choice, repeat with marked emphasis the phrase which he rejects."—p. 295.

In making these remarks upon the system of lay interference, no disrespect is intended towards the venerated person in whom it originated. Every one has his place and his day in the purposes of Providence; and, whatever these may be as regards the American Church, so far seems clear, that, if a more apostolical constitution had been insisted on fifty years since, that Church at this day would not have been in numbers what she is. Mr. Caswall calls him "the Cranmer of the American Church;" comparisons are odious; we hold him to be a great benefactor to his countrymen, and this is plain English, and has a better meaning than metaphors or metonymies. He died within the last year or two, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, the sixty-sixth of his ministry, and the fiftieth of his episcopate; and in proportion as his actions have an essential place, so his death must necessarily be a memorable era, in the history of his Church. The influence



which he exercised so long must be succeeded by other influences, of whatever kind; may the bright day that is past be eclipsed by a brighter on the morrow!

"He was raised up," says Mr. Caswall, "by Providence at a crisis when a person of his description was pre-eminently necessary. Steady and sober from his youth, he was prepared to advise in time of peril and excitement. Conciliatory in his measures, he was a man perfectly adapted to the promotion of harmony, at a time when diversity of opinions, and high claims respecting the independence of dioceses, threatened to rend the Church in pieces. Under the influence of his blended meekness and wisdom, objections to the Liturgy and Articles melted away; and many a root of bitterness was plucked up and allowed to die. The General Convention is the offspring of his prudence and brotherly love; and from its first organization till the last meeting before his death, he was always at hand with his pacific counsels, superior to paltry manœuvre and selfish policy. His humility and piety were evinced more by actions than by words; and he always acted on the maxim, that for any man to assume dictatorial airs, on the ground of ecclesiastical distinction, is in America most unwise, and in every country most unbecoming. Hence while he lived, he was venerated as a patriarch and loved as a man, and when he died, the event was regarded by the Church as an irreparable loss, and by the nation as a public calamity."—pp. 193, 194.

At the General Convention following his death (1838), a resolution was passed, declaratory of their "cherished remembrance of his faithful and uninterrupted services," and of their gratitude to the Great Head of the Church for the long continuance" among them "of one, who by the beauty of his example, the purity of his designs, and the moderation of his councils, contributed for more than half a century to advance the interests, both temporal and spiritual,"\* of his communion. Bishop Meade, too, in his sermon at the opening of the Convention, speaks of

"The venerable patriarch of our Zion who lived and died in this city of brotherly love (Philadelphia), to whose peace he so greatly contributed, by whose citizens he was so highly honored, so sincerely beloved,—whose death created a general pause along all its streets, and whose funeral procession was one long unbroken line from the door of his house to the mouth of his sepulchre—May his worth," he continues, "descend not on one of us but on all. Imbibing his truly catholic spirit, adhering to his judicious, moderate, and true interpretation of our standards, avoiding all metaphysical discussions and doubtful disputations, we shall agree on all subjects where agreement is necessary, and readily consent to differ where difference is unimportant."†

\* P. 86.

† Vide also the *Missionary* for August 19, and November 11, 1837, for some interesting accounts of Bishop White.

One other illustration we shall give of the deficiency of development at present observable in the American Church, and so bring these extended remarks to an end. It lies in a saying, we believe, of the excellent Bishop Hobart's, which has a very true and honest sense, but has been much and seriously misunderstood. To write encomiums here upon one whose praise is in all the churches, and whose memory is interesting personally to many around us who saw him when in England, would be beside the purpose; let us confine ourselves to the particular subject in which we consider that he has been misapprehended and his authority abused.

The *celebre dictum* to which we allude is this; that the true motto of a Church is "evangelical truth and apostolical order;" and since these words have been adopted lately by deservedly influential persons among ourselves, there is still greater reason for pointing out what they ought to mean and what they ought not. Bishop Hobart seems to have found in America what we find here, a great deal of energy and warmth of feeling among dissenters and low churchmen, and a consequent and prevalent notion that Church principles were cold, formal, lifeless, external, and therefore uncondusive, if not detrimental, to true piety and holiness. Accordingly he laboured, and successfully, to persuade persons so imagining, that true Catholicism did not exclude the exercise of the religious affections, but trained them up to perfection in a right direction and upon a perfect model. The affections are the life of religion; but life does not exist except realized and made substantive in this or that subject; and if it is found in an untoward subject it had better not be at all. Each creature has its own life; life is a blessing or a curse according as it is in this creature or that. And so with moral life; fanaticism implies life, so does bigotry, so does superstition; but none of these is true religion. And so again evangelical truth may be called the matter, and apostolical order the form which make up "the mind of Christ." What is called a sense of sin, an insight into the divine purity, desire of pardon, a belief in the sacrifice provided, and so on, is the matter of religion; but it is not all that is necessary to make a religious man. According as these feelings and views are combined, directed and used, they become fanaticism, enthusiasm, antinomianism, or Christian faith. All depends upon the informing principle: if this be short of the true, all will go to waste; if it be "apostolical order," it will be right. We are not speaking as if we liked the phrase ourselves, we are but explaining its real sense; we do think it liable to misconception; it has met with it; and that misconception is as follows:—Men speak as if "apostolical order" were (to use a homely illustration) like the

roof of a house, or the top of a box, shutting in and making fast and tight "Evangelical Truth." Sectarians of all sorts, who profess the doctrine of Justification by Faith and its concomitants, are considered right as far as they go, only they do not go far enough. When will men learn that the true religious principle is one, and all its parts are parts of one? Apostolicity is not an *addition*, or an ἐπιτέλειωσις; it is *one side*, one whole *aspect* of Christian truth, and Evangelicity is another side. They are different modes of viewing one and the same thing; a man cannot have the Evangelic principle in purity without the Apostolic, and *vice versâ*; they go together. If he believes the doctrine of Atonement, yet does not believe the doctrine of Baptism, he does not believe in the Atonement uncorruptly; his reception of that doctrine is not such as God claims of him. His faith is corrupt. It may be objected, that this excludes multitudes from having a right faith, who to all appearance are pious excellent men. It does not exclude them; many a man holds *implicitly* what he has not learnt to put into words or had the opportunity of viewing objectively. Many a man is a believer in the Apostolical Succession who does not confess it, inasmuch as he *would* confess it, all but for unavoidable accidents, such as ignorance and misapprehension. So much may be granted; but it never can be granted by any correct thinker that evangelical truth is so distinct from apostolical, that a man may have one without having the other, as he may know geometry without knowing Greek; or that the ordinances of the Church are mere matter of order or arrangement, independent of the substance of the Gospel, instead of being involved in its essential idea. As we know nothing of the atonement except as wrought through Christ's natural body, so we know nothing of justification except as wrought through His mystical; and we may as well call a man an orthodox believer who denies the truth of the incarnation as one who denies the divine appointment of the Church. We are not entering into the question of *degrees* of unbelief; but there is no difference in principle between the two, both imply absence of faith. A man who really has to add the latter article to his creed as not holding it in any sense before, has not merely to add, he has to reform the whole. He has to new-create and leaven his creed with a principle which will affect it in all those other articles which he already after a fashion holds. If evangelical truth (when opportunities have been granted) has not in his mind flowed out and developed into apostolical order, it is because he does not really hold apostolical truth. Till we master this view of religion we shall (to use the poet's simile) be fastening the head of one creature on the body of another: we shall have a made-up, artificial being, not a nature, not a truth,—a mere

dream of the fancy which never existed. A man who is *not only* Evangelical, *but also* Apostolical, is either in heart a mere Calvinist or Wesleyan, and does not firmly hold any thing about "order;" or he is a formalist and has no real warmth in him. If he is both at once, he ceases to be either; he is something deeper; he is not a being made up of two separable things, order and warmth, but he is one, and order and warmth are but qualities of his one faith, which we view separately, but which exist together.

Now, assuming, as we shall do, that this representation is correct, we shall respectfully point out some errors which on both sides the water are the consequences of forgetting it.

It is supposed, for instance, that the two parties in the Church are each right, and have each half of the truth; and that to be quite right each must take the other half. Now that there is a sense in which such a statement is true cannot be doubted; but that, among ourselves for instance, a stiff dry establishment man completes what is wanting in him by adopting what are called evangelical words and practices, or that a Lutheran or Calvinist "perfects his organization," as Mr. Caswall would speak, by taking up the doctrine of Episcopacy as the best and most primitive form of Church government, we utterly deny. Such men become at best, as it has sometimes been expressed, "warm preachers of cold doctrines," or "cold preachers of warm ones," as it may be; yet how much of this sort of change is growing among us, and is hailed as an approximation between parties! And when other persons come and declaim against such union as a mere phantom and a deceit, and attempt to draw attention to the true Catholicism of the ancient Church, they are said to be frustrating one of the most favourable prospects of concord which our Church has ever had, and to be throwing back religion in Europe fifty years. Mr. Caswall seems to us to commit the same paralogism, as far as his words go, (for we do not charge him with more than falling in with the current language of the day,) when he invites American Christians "to return to that pure Protestant Church from which they have generally seceded;" because "here is a form of worship *scriptural in doctrine and orderly in arrangement*, yet sufficiently diversified to meet that appetite for variety which is natural to man."—p. 326. And still more so when he observes that

"Party spirit is by no means so strong as it has been; the high Church generally admitting that the low Church are growing more consistent, and the latter conceding that the former are becoming more 'evangelical.' Both classes have done much in the great work of extending religion; the former by learned and dispassionate arguments for Apostolic truth and order; and the latter by zealous personal efforts, united with direct and faithful addresses to the conscience. The former

labour with energy in the promotion of missions within their own country ; and the latter with equal energy in the propagation of the Gospel abroad.”—pp. 340, 341.

Again, it seems a favourite form of expression to speak of Presbyterians also and other sectarians as “ in an imperfect state,” and to use the phrase just above alluded to,—that their organization needs *completing*. For instance, speaking of the declension of the Puritans of New England into Socinianism, Mr. Caswall says that “ the Episcopalian discovers its origin in the same causes which he thinks have produced the apostasies in the Protestant Churches of Geneva, France, and Germany, namely, a *defective form of Church government* ; and the want of an evangelical liturgy.”—p. 127. “ The Church,” he says, speaking of the time before the Revolution, “ was of necessity presented to the people in an *imperfect form*, the rite of confirmation being unpractised and almost unknown.”—p. 170. Again, “ at length an American bishop had been obtained, and the Church, in one state, appeared in a *complete form*.”—p. 177. This is defensible perhaps when used of the Church ; but “ a parish,” he tells us, “ consists of all in any given place who *prefer the Episcopal form of worship and government* to any other,” &c.—p. 65. And, “ there being no Episcopal Church in Andover at the time, we often attended,” he says, “ the Seminary Chapel on Sundays, where the services were conducted according to the usual *plan* of the Independents : (better to say in plain England, we attended the Independent chapel ; to proceed:—) “ while I could not but lament the *imperfect ecclesiastical organization* of these worthy people, I admired the energy of religious principle which developed itself among them.”—p. 130. Now that they had religious energy and the other excellent points of character which he details we are most glad to hear, and to believe ; but we never will violently take it to heart that they or any other people had not a *form* in addition. Either Church organization is far more than a form or it does not call for a great deal of lamentation. There are no mere forms under the Gospel. Apostolic order is an ethical principle, or it is not worth much. These worthy Independents were deficient in an inward element of truth, in a something mental, moral, spiritual, mystical, or they had no great loss, considering they were in unavoidable ignorance. They were not altogether right up to a certain point, and only wanted finishing. They were not dressed all but hat and shoes. Mr. Caswall seems to consider that the Episcopal form is the *last* thing in the idea of a Church, and that therefore a Presbyterian or Independent body may be considered an imperfect sort of Episcopacy. Imperfect ! is a mouse an imperfect kind of bat ? is it a bat all but the wings ?

Could we sew wings on it and make it a bat? Did all the swelling of an ambitious heart develop the frog into the bull? Could it "perfect its defective organization?" So it is with Independency or Presbyterianism viewed in themselves: as forms they are as distinct from the Church as one kind of flesh from another. We are not saying that they are without the privileges and grace of Christianity; that is another matter, we only say they are not the Church, they are not part of the Church, or all but the Church. And as to the individuals under them, they have already Church principles in their hearts if they be real Christians; and if so, they certainly, as individuals, are imperfectly organized and imperfectly developed, and ought to be developed perfectly; but that will not be till stirrings manifest themselves within them which the Church alone can satisfy, a spiritual taste and a hunger of heart which the Church alone can feed, till they join the Church as the correlative of their minds, and gain the perfection of their nature by the gifts imparted to it.

The same unphilosophical view of things leads to misapprehension, of course, as regards the Church of Rome. As Sectarianism is thought to be all inside, so Romanism is thought to be all outside. Sectarianism is the man, and Romanism is his clothes, —of a particular make; clothes by themselves are of no use at all, but it is unbecoming for the man to go into public without them. "In the American Church," says Mr. Caswall, "the Church of Rome is acknowledged, though *corrupt*, to be a *true Church*." (p. 341.) Nothing can be more exactly worded; but if it is a true Church, it must be living, and if living, it must have the gifts of grace, whatever its corruptions may be. It cannot be an outside only. It must have a real faith, and heart, and obedience. It must be in the main orthodox, as it is; for that Church which holds aright the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, Original Sin, Regeneration, and the Last Judgment, we take to be in the main orthodox. However, to our surprise, Mr. Caswall, in his enumeration of the "orthodox" bodies in America, includes "most of the Quakers" and "the Dutch Reformed," and bestows upon the Church of Rome the benefit of a most ominous silence.

"In regard to doctrine, I have already remarked that the great majority of American religionists are orthodox. This is most emphatically the case; and affords a strong evidence that the Bible alone is sufficient to impart a knowledge of all truth necessary to salvation. It is a fact, which even a high Churchman can contemplate with pleasure, that the Episcopalians, the Congregationalists, the Dutch Reformed, the German Reformed, the Lutherans, the Methodists, the Moravians, the Presbyterians, and most of the Baptists and Quakers, agree in maintaining

nearly all the truths contained in the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Thirty-nine Articles. Among these denominations is found almost the whole religious energy of the country, and from these the great philanthropic institutions of America derive their prosperity and vigour."—pp. 312, 313.

Now, taking the Thirty-nine Articles as the exactest form of Apostolic truth, still we must consider that the Quakers and Dutch Reformed deviate from them as far as the Roman Catholics.

Another result of the same misconception is an incongruity common with us as well as the Americans, of classing all sorts of persons together as teachers in one school of doctrine, if they happen to have been prominent as religious writers, whatever difference there be in their faith and tone of mind. We have lately been so stunned with hearing of "our Basils and our Baxters, our Gregories and our Greggs, our Jeromes, our Jewels, and our Jays," that really it is with an effort we can appreciate the difference between one sound and another, and can say when notes are in tune together, and when not. It is said, that one may go on sipping first white and then port, till he loses all perception which is which; and it is very great good fortune in this day to manage to escape a parallel misery in theology. What false concords are involved in passages like the following! "The Parish Library, printed at New York, by the Episcopal press," says Mr. Caswall, "contains the works of *Leslie, West, Sherlock, Cudworth, Walton, Bishops Jewell, Gibson, Sumner, Jebb, Burnett, &c.*, with Chevalier's translation of *Clement, Polycarp, Ignatius, and Justin Martyr.*"—p. 330. Again, an eloquent and distinguished preacher, whose sermon is before us, at a late General Convention calls "for thousands of such preachers as Paul, and Barnabas, and Chrysostom, and Cyprian, and Augustine, and Luther, and Calvin, and Melancthon, and Crammer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and Hooper." Even so considerable a man as Bishop Hobart, in language, true indeed in the letter, but very paralogistic in the sense, speaks of "our Zion," to use the Americanism, "as adorned with the intellect and erudition of Chillingworth, Hooker, and Horsley, by the eloquence of Barrow, Tillotson, and Porteus, and the piety of Andrews, Taylor, and Horne."\* But the most remarkable instance of this figure of speech is afforded us by that powerful writer, Dr. Chapman, who, speaking of our Church's champions, enumerates among the archbishops and bishops, "the weight of whose learning and piety no pen can adequately tell, no wealth of words exaggerate," Crammer, Leigh-

ton, Tillotson, Wake, Andrews, Atterbury, Bull, Burnet, Butler, Hall, Hoadley, Hopkins, Horne, Hurd, Latimer, Louth, Taylor, Tomline, Warburton and Watson. And among "divines inferior to these in dignity alone," Balguy, Barrow, Clarke, Hales, Hammond, Hickes, Jones, Law, Lightfoot, Milner, Paley, Waterford and Whitby.† Let us not seem to bear harshly upon our brethren. It is their kindness and affection towards us which makes them thus speak; they think nothing but good can come from the Church of their fathers; they love us and admire us; alas! that we deserved their affection as fully as they give it us; but we must not in love to them conceal from them what we really are, what our good, and what our evil, lest we be a stumbling block in their way.

We know their brotherly feeling towards us, but we wish it shown in higher and nobler ways. Let the American Church take her place; she is freer than we are; she has but to will, and she can do. Let her, as Mr. Caswall in one place suggests, react upon us, according to the light and power given her. Let her not take our errors and increase them by copying, but let her be, as it were, our shadow before us; the prophecy and omen, the mysterious token and the anticipated fulfilment of those Catholic principles which lie within us more or less latent, waiting for the destined hour of their development.

There are other formulæ popular in the American Church besides that on which we have been principally commenting, which symbolize the same defective apprehension of her true position, and grievously wound our ears. What, for instance, shall we say to the contrast so frequent between "Scripture and "Liturgy," "Protestant" and "Episcopal?" Our brethren speak as if all Protestants were scriptural, but were wanting in the *corona* of a Liturgy; and as if all of themselves were Protestants, but of the Episcopal denomination. Thus Mr. Caswall speaks of large and growing portion of the Church, as "rising up under the full influence of the Liturgy and Episcopacy" (p. 333); and of "the *conservative* influence of the Episcopate and the Liturgy." (p. 335.) But of all combinations, that of Protestant-Episcopal is the least pleasant; yet we are met with this compound everywhere. We hear of the Protestant-Episcopal Church, Protestant-Episcopal creed, Protestant-Episcopal press, Protestant-Episcopal societies, Protestant-Episcopal unions, Protestant-Episcopal clergy, and Protestant-Episcopal bishops. Above all, Mr. Caswall speaks, as a creature indeed of the imagination, but still as a thing *in posse*, of a "Protestant-Episcopal Cath-



dral!" Well may he doubt whether a cathedral "would strictly comport with the American Episcopal system." (p. 288.) Let him take our word for it, such a vision never can be realized. The eyes of men will never see it. Sooner shall we set eyes on a griffin, or a wivern, than so gross a violation of all the laws of unity and entireness. No possible style of architecture could embrace the idea. Not that the American Church will never have cathedrals, but when she has, as we trust she will, it will be because she is a Church, not because she works with such modern spells and under such unpriestly titles.

It may seem harsh thus to speak of "Episcopacy" and "Episcopalian," yet we hope it will not shock any one if we say that we wish the words, as denoting an opinion and its maintainer, never had been invented. They have done great mischief to their own cause. We are "of the Church," not "of the Episcopal Church;" our bishops are not merely an order in her organization, but the principle of her continuance; and to call ourselves Episcopalians is to imply that we differ from the mass of dissenters mainly in Church government and form, in a matter of doctrine merely, not of fact, whereas the difference is that we are *here*, and they *there*: we in the Church and they out of it.

We are quite sure that all this is not a matter of words; nothing practically is so chill and unnatural, or gives us churchmen such an air of technicality, pedantry, and narrowness with the many, as this insisting so earnestly upon what we own to be a form or point of order added to Evangelical truth, a portion of extraneous and dead matter, which will not graft into Protestantism, but must irritate and inflame it while it remains, and in the event must be cast out. If indeed the Church is to remain a genteel and fashionable communion for the rich and happy, as indeed it has been in its measure in our own large towns for a long while, then it may preserve any incongruity or monstrosity for any length of time; but if it is to be, what we trust it is both in America and among ourselves, *earnest*,—if it is to be real and to encounter the realities of human life, need, sickness, pain, doubt, despair, affliction,—if it is to match the giant evils which it was sent into the world to overcome—it must take up a simple and consistent doctrine, and will make Episcopacy more than a form or an opinion, or will give it up.

So much we are bound to say about Episcopacy; as to "the Liturgy," we have lately taken up one of Mr. Cooper's novels, and we find so apposite an illustration of what we would say, that before concluding we are tempted to quote one or two passages from it. It shows the *impression* produced by the existing American Church system on a clever man who, whatever be his views

on the whole, for we know absolutely nothing of them except from this one novel, evidently has a proper respect and love for the Church.

In a sketch then of a clergyman in a rising colony in the woods, among churchmen and sectarians, squatters and Indians, whom he is trying to "organize" into an Episcopal Protestant parish, we have the following touches. The clergyman says to a stranger:—

"It is so unusual to find one of your age and appearance in these woods, at all acquainted with our *Holy Liturgy*, that it lessens at once the distance between us."—*Pioneers*, p. 125.

"'You have then resided much in the cities, for no other part of this country is so fortunate as to possess the *constant enjoyment of our excellent Liturgy*.' The young hunter smiled as he listened to the divine, &c., but he made no answer. 'I am delighted to meet with you, my young friend, for I think an ingenuous mind, such as I doubt not yours must be, will exhibit all the advantages of a settled doctrine and *devout Liturgy*. \* \* \* To-morrow I purpose administering the Sacrament. Do you commune, my young friend?' 'I believe not, Sir,' returned the youth. 'Each must judge for himself,' said Mr. Grant, 'though I should think that a youth who had never been blown about by the wind of false doctrines, and who has *enjoyed the advantages of our Liturgy* for so many years in its purity, might safely come.'"—*Ibid.* p. 129.

"He seated himself and hid his face between his hands, as they rested on his knees. 'It is the hereditary violence of a native's passion, my child,' said Mr. Grant in a low tone to his affrighted daughter, who was clinging in terror to his arm. 'He is mixed with the blood of the Indians, you have heard: and neither the refinements of education, nor the *advantages of our excellent Liturgy*, have been able entirely to eradicate the evil.'"—*Ibid.* p. 134.

Now Mr. Caswall reminds us that "*excellent* as are its general arrangements, and *venerable* as are its services, the Prayer Book in America or in England constitutes no *essential* part of the ecclesiastical fabric. The Church of England, in the Preface to the Prayer Book, has laid down a rule that 'the particular *forms* of divine worship, and the *rites* and *ceremonies* appointed to be read therein, being things in their own nature *indifferent* and *alterable*, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, such changes should be made therein as seem either necessary or expedient.'" (p. 234.) Very well; but if so there is some deficiency somewhere, when what is but an accident of a system, though a necessary accident, and a most salutary provision, assumes in the eyes of the world the appearance of being its one essential characteristic. Every religious body must be known by some badges; but if we must be ridiculed, we had rather it should be for preaching the "Holy

Catholic Church," than for preaching the "Liturgy." If indeed we maintain that the Liturgy is necessary and essential, and on the whole, *not* an alterable form, *as we well may*, particularly and singularly as regards portions of our Communion Service, that is another thing; but the incongruity we are insisting on is the confessing that the Liturgy is not *divine* and *necessary*, and yet making it our special characteristic.

We should be able to illustrate more fully what we mean by the scene toward the end of the same novel of the death of an old Indian, at which Mr. Grant is present: but we could not do justice either to the subject, or to our meaning, without using more words than we can do here.

In taking leave of our American brethren, we congratulate both them and our own countrymen on the increased interest which is felt in both countries in the early Fathers of the Church. Two bishops, as far as our knowledge of America extends, have especially exerted themselves in encouraging this most promising symptom of advancement in Christian truth. Dr. Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, has, among other excellent works, published editions of the Apostolical Fathers, Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp; and Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, is the able author of several works, more or less controversial, with some of which we have headed this article, and one of which has lately been published in England.

We ought not to be sanguine about anything; the right rule is to hope nothing, to fear nothing: to expect anything; to be prepared for everything. The course of religion is guided through the world far otherwise than human conjecture determines. Yet looking at the sincerity, zeal, and activity of the Anglo-Catholic clergy, both here and in America, the pleasing thought will suggest itself to us, that, since to him that hath more is given, they are about to receive a reward for the good thing in them, however poor and worthless it be, by some greater good to come. A fuller gift of Apostolical light may be destined for them in the councils of divine mercy; they shrink from it at present and close their eyes, for it dazzles them. Still in time they may be enabled to bear it: and then it will be seen that in the ranks of popular Protestantism, nay, and of Dissent, there have been many Crypto-Catholics unknown to themselves,—many who, by patient continuance in well doing, are earning for themselves, against their will to be—what they as yet in ignorance condemn, under the names of Papist, or even Pagan—Catholic believers in the Catholic Church of Christ.

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ART. III.—*Central Society of Education. Third Publication.*  
London: Taylor & Walton. 1839.

THE disadvantages of periodical literature have at least this counterpoise,—that plagiarisms are rendered more difficult. Cicero's work "*De Gloria*" may be irrecoverable, but we run no risk of the destruction of any similar composition to increase the laurels of some modern scholar. Even the escapade of the shuffling and disingenuous Conyers Middleton would scarcely be attempted in the present day. It is instructive to observe the strong tendency to infidelity produced in this unhappy man by the recollection of his successful imposture. "*Animum fuisse ejusdem parum candidum ac sincerum,*" says his brother liberal Dr. Parr, "*id vero fateor invitus, dolens, coactus.*" One or two cases might perhaps be mentioned in which popular English writers of the present day have been indebted to the unacknowledged labours of some plodding German. But of the attempt "*his e fontibus irrigasse hortulos suos,*" to use Parr's words, we remember no such glaring instance as that which we have to point out in the present article.

Before we proceed to our more immediate subject, we must say a word respecting the Society from which this volume emanates. It seems that we have the good fortune of witnessing the fulfilment of one of those golden visions which floated before the imagination of the immortal Bacon. A certain number of persons have banded themselves together, to attain by their voluntary efforts what he expected only from the public counsel of some wise community. In his *New Atlantis* he describes "the erection and institution of an order or society," called "*Solomon's House, the noblest foundation that ever was upon earth, and the lantern of this kingdom.*" "Every twelve years" there is "a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Solomon's House, whose errand" is "to give knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they" are "designed." What is this but a description of the objects which the Central Society of Education undertakes to perform? Other institutions confine themselves to the wearisome and ignoble task of training up those by whom they happen to be surrounded, but the more enlarged view of this society is to gather from every country those treasures of morality, civilization, skill, or knowledge, in which we are judged so inferior to our continental neighbours.

There is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous. The reader who has made himself acquainted with the tone and manner of some of those young gentlemen, whom the society has

enrolled among its brethren, will be ready to believe that in the sage Bacon's description, there lurked a slight tinge of ridicule at the pretensions of his future imitators. He gives the following account of what was supposed to happen at Bensalem. "The next morning my guide came to me again, joyful, and said there is word come to the governor of the city, that one of the fathers of Solomon's House will be here this day seven-night. We have seen none of them this dozen years. His coming is in state, but the cause of his coming is secret. I will provide you and your fellows of a good standing to see his entry. I thanked him and told him I was most glad of the news. The day being come he made his entry. He was a man of a middle stature and age, comely of person, and *had an aspect as if he pitied men.*" We spare the pomp of his garniture, which the Central Society can never hope to equal, unless it forms an alliance with the club of Odd Fellows. The narrative proceeds, "He sat alone—He held up his bare hand as he went, as blessing the people, but in silence."

There is something infinitely grotesque in comparing this with the entrance of some young aspirant after the office of an assistant poor law commissioner, into a neighbourhood which he is to visit. We can readily fancy the Malvolio air with which he "quenches his familiar smile with an austere regard of control." But the force of the comparison lies in the contumelious spirit with which the young philosopher regards all those ancient institutions which have stood the shock of varied circumstances, and been the real source of his own civilization and knowledge. Because circumstances render him more fluent than the rustics with whom he meets, he fancies that all wisdom begins with him. To those who know the toughness of John Bull's nature, it will appear a hard task to talk him out of what he has found practically beneficial. But the writers employed by the Central Society of Education are not without hope. They clearly anticipate the commencement of some golden era. Education is the universal restorative by which the evils of human nature are to be finally done away. What prophets have said and bards have sung, is to be brought about in a different order, and by an unlooked for hand.

Let us drop irony for a moment. Such expectations as these are in truth but the homage of man's heart to that better system and purer light, of which the only complete exemplar is the Church triumphant; but of which the Church on earth displays some faint and feeble reflexion. All the loftier aspirations of man's genius: the designs of the true statesman, the hopes of

the patriot, the dreams of the poet, betray the same ardent longing for a developement of the full capacities of man. Unhappily this feeling sometimes allies itself to a low, calculating, worldly philosophy; a philosophy rather fitted to degrade men below their present level, than to raise them to their proper state. If man be in truth a fallen being, subject to the influence of inward corruption, how impossible is it that mere worldly excitement should work itself free from the influence of moral evil. Mr. Liardet, one of these brethren of the House of Solomon, has made the condition of our rural population his more immediate inquiry. Disciples do not always agree with those from whom they draw their name, and certainly the results in this case are of a kind at which King Solomon would have been in no little astonishment. "Vanity of vanity," says the Preacher, "all is vanity." Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: "fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man." Mr. Liardet, on the contrary, finds that the great danger under which men labour in country districts, is from fanaticism and enthusiasm. The only escape, as he thinks, from these evils is among those dense masses of men where mind can act readily on the mind of its fellow. Do you wish for the calm dispassionate pursuit of truth?—you must bury yourself among the Chartist population of Birmingham, or seek the society of the people of Manchester when they hold an aggregate meeting. It is not a little astonishing that a person can have gone among the poor, as this gentleman appears to have done, and come back so uninstructed in their true condition and real wants. There are no missionaries who preach the importance of serving God in tones so true and heartfelt, as the poor. Their distresses, their virtues, their very faults—all indicate the need of some higher and better system than that around us, by which the inequalities of mortal being may be remedied, and its miseries allayed. Mr. Liardet really supposes that he can argue men into the expediency of their working 14 hours a day in a factory, by showing them that it leads to the general augmentation of wealth. It was said of a fine spun theory like this, *solvitur ambulando*. How can Mr. Liardet's reasoning withstand the influence of temptation, backed by the certainty of immediate advantage, and the possibility of ultimate escape? The laws of probability, as Gibbon says, are not more true in general, than they are fallacious in particular. What then is to prevent any man among us from becoming a Masaniello, or even a Cromwell? The odds, it is true, are against it. But is the lot of a hand-loom weaver so eligible, that, leaving the next world out of account, it is not worth his while to put his all

to hazard for such a result. Have we not in our own days seen men succeed in the enterprize.

“*Ad summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri.*”

Yet Mr. Liardet can see nothing to dread for our rural population but enthusiasm and fanaticism. Drunkenness, discontent, irreligion—he knows little of the existence of any such plagues, he cannot trace to them the evils which he witnessed, or the melancholy event which suggested his inquiry. If his mind had not been filled with the *idola specus*, which he had carried with him from his chambers in London, he would surely have taken a juster view of rural life.

His inquiries were called forth by the disorders produced by the maniac Thoms, in a wild part of Kent. Thoms having been released from confinement by Lord John Russell, in defiance of the authority of the local magistrates and of medical advice, retires into an extraparochial district, where the negligence of past administrations in not providing churches, and the revenue laws which had made smuggling a lucrative employment, had combined to demoralize the people. Here Thoms drew to himself followers. The turbulent he flattered with the assurance that when his party prevailed no one should have less than fifty acres of land; while his mysterious communications won over some weak but pious women. How far this went is not very clear: there may have been those who were even deluded into the follies which Mr. Liardet represents. Experience teaches us that such weaknesses will be found under all circumstances; among infidels as well as believers; among persons of extended acquirements as well as the ignorant. The apostate Julian had his superstitious divinations, and the learned Vossius would believe any fable, however monstrous, provided it had no countenance from the word of God. Indeed Mr. Liardet himself seems to afford an instance of the extraordinary credulity of some sturdy doubters, when he traces the conduct of the Dunkirk smugglers to their excess of religion, not to their want of honesty. For ourselves, we think that the worship of God had far less to do in the matter than the idolatry of Mammon.

We have said the more on this story because so unfair an use has been made of it in various popular assemblies. It is, in truth, rather a curious proof of the importance of religious instruction, that an imposter like Thoms should have found his victims in one of those few localities where our Church system had failed to extend itself. It tells well for the ordinary working of our ancient principles.

If the brethren of the new house of Solomon had gone forth with unbiassed eyes, they could not fail to have been impressed

by this last reflection. But unhappily there is one predominant feature by which all their remarks are pervaded. Whatever they say is of a thoroughly Unenglish character. This is with us a great fault, and especially in what bears reference to rural subjects. We suppose that no churchman can fail for instance to observe the unfairness of Howitt's writings, and yet we cannot but allow them the redeeming quality of a genuine English taste. We can observe, indeed, a smack of the Quaker and the Liberal at the bottom of the cask, yet still the liquor is right October. But these modern brethren adopt in their most serious mood, what in Shakespeare's young gallant was only ludicrous. "How oddly they are snited; they get their name from France, their notions of liberty from Germany, their politeness from Holland,—their religion everywhere." And this leads us to the hero of the present volume—Thomas Wyse, Esq., "Chairman of Committees," or as he is entitled in the present volume, p. 141, "*the distinguished Member for Waterford.*"

Every brother of Solomon's house has his own preserve, and Mr. Wyse has taken Prussia for his share. He opened the present session of parliament by referring to the system of education there pursued, as exactly what he wished for in England. He evidently supposed that its cardinal point was the union of children of every religious persuasion in the same school. "For his own part," we are told, "he candidly avowed he greatly preferred united to separate instruction." Then after some remarks, which showed that he considered this the plan which was generally adopted in Germany, "he had himself," he said, "a recent opportunity of witnessing it in action in Rhenish-Prussia."\* We will not weary our readers with all that Mr. Wyse had witnessed; this may be safely reserved for his brethren of Solomon's house in one of their secret conclaves: but it is apparent that he entered the House of Commons with the full conviction that in Prussia he had witnessed an experiment which completely realized all his theories. As the session advanced, however, a new light seems to have visited his mind. The facts stated in various debates, and several works published during the session, seem to have taught him that Prussia was far from presenting so clear an instance of mixed instruction. On the contrary, it was proved that in all their training schools the mixture of various confessions was diligently avoided. In their institutions for the poor they were shown to have recourse to this practice as little as possible. The only common case of its employment was found to be in schools of classical instruction, where it is not unfrequently admitted even in this country. Yet even in these cases it has been thought in-

\* Hansard's Debates, Feb. 12, 1859.



expedient to mix together instructors of various faiths; and the several gymnasias have been assigned, therefore, exclusively to Romish or Protestant teachers. This provision, of which Mr. Wyse appears to have been altogether unconscious, has been adopted in consequence of the evils which were found to arise from blending instructors of various opinions; and it gives the last seal, therefore, to the singular inaptitude with which the example of Prussia has been introduced. But we do not find that though Mr. Wyse's arguments are impaired, his decisions are affected. He still advocates mixed schools as zealously as if Prussia was not an argument against him, and the present paper contains an attempt to glide off upon the fact, that "in the gymnasium Roman Catholics and Protestants are found constantly side by side."—p. 413.

But enough respecting Mr. Wyse's consistency. We now come to his observations during the visit to Germany, to which he has made such public allusion. "We left Bonn," he says, "on a clear fine morning in October, and after keeping the road to Cologne for a short way, turned to the left, and over a very indifferent by-way at length reached the small town of Brühl."—p. 414. Then follows a lengthened account of the seminary, comprising a large part of the remarks and observations by which the title of the paper, "The present state of Prussian Education," is to be verified. In giving this statement Mr. Wyse has evidently manned himself for some stern attack. He anticipates that the principles and practice which he adduces, are of such a kind that he will assuredly be "gored and tossed" by some sour polemic. "The new system," he says, "'the Prussian system,' 'the government system,' these are the appellations with which the system is honoured: the object is clear, they are intended to mean 'dangerous innovations,' 'foreign despotism,' and 'ministerial interference with civil and religious liberty.'"—p. 376. Mr. Wyse does himself injustice by these groundless apprehensions. The training schools which he describes, instead of being universally abused by the friends of our Church, meet with their general commendation. It is his own friends in the government who give a practical proof of their repugnance, by refusing to imitate what he commends. We desire nothing better than that the Church of England should meet with as much fairness from her Majesty's ministers as the king of Prussia has shown towards the papist establishment of Westphalia. What have we been demanding all last session, but to be allowed to have training schools in connection with our own Church, exactly like those which are described in these pages? Far, therefore, from censuring the institutions which Mr. Wyse commends, we only regret that he

should have given what amounted to a casting vote against them: we grieve that what, as a brother of the house of Solomon, he commends, he should have opposed as a member of the House of Commons.

And yet we have a complaint to make against Mr. Wyse's narrative—a complaint which we shall convey in the words of a well known apothegm. We are told, then, that “the book concerning the deposing King Richard II., supposed to be written by Dr. Hayward, had much incensed Queen Elizabeth. She asked Mr. Bacon whether there was any treason contained in it. Who, intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the queen's bitterness, with a merry conceit answered, ‘No, madam, for treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is any, but very much felony.’ The queen, apprehending it gladly, asked, ‘How? and wherein?’ Mr. Bacon answered, ‘Because he hath stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus.’”

We have already acquitted Mr. Wyse of treason: but is it not a sort of literary felony, that, professing to give the result of his own observation, he should, without acknowledgment, have taken his account verbatim from a work by Professor Thiersch? Our readers will probably share in the surprise which this discovery excited in ourselves. “I am sorry to interrupt so much learning,” we said with Dr. Prinrose, “but I fancy myself to have heard all this before.” A reference to Professor Thiersch's book on Public Instruction in Western Germany, &c. made the cause apparent. Not to mention other passages, (as, for example, page 404,) the whole detail respecting the seminaries at Brühl and Neuwied, extending from page 416 to page 424, is copied directly from the German work. Now it is true that in Lord Bacon's proposed college, provision is made for such a case as this. “We have three,” he says, “that collect the experiments, which are in all books. These we call *depredators*.” No doubt Mr. Wyse has thought himself safe under such a sanction; but to plunder solely for the public benefit is one thing, to appropriate the credit of the experiment is another. These pilferers of books are expressly distinguished by Lord Bacon from those who bring home the result of their own observations. Besides, we must call Mr. Wyse's attention to another canon of the fraternity. “We do hate all impostures, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines.” It is not for us to intrude into the domestic discipline of this august society; we doubt not its justice; and that Mr. Wyse, though chairman of committees, will be visited with punishment no less condign than Lord Bacon himself, when he ventured to turn *depredator* in an illicit manner.

We trust that we are not speaking with undue severity of a literary offence, which seems to require our notice. But we can fancy that it may be urged by indulgent persons that Mr. Wyse has but borrowed the account of a series of objects, which he could express better in Professor Thiersch's words than his own. This is certainly not so gross a case as where one man appropriates to himself the produce of another's invention. Yet still we cannot but feel that there is a measure of unfairness in the proceeding. We say this with less reserve, because we have the satisfaction of believing that Mr. Wyse, whom we understand to be a more respectable man than most of his party, will not himself be reached by our censures. Were he in the habit of profiting by our labours, our review of Thiersch, in December last, could scarcely have escaped his attention. We conclude, therefore, that he is one of those obedient Romanists who read nothing without the imprimatur of their chaplains, and that the British Critic is very wisely held in suspicion by the alumni of Maynooth.

One evil, however, Mr. Wyse has certainly incurred by his conscientious abstinence. Had he chosen to copy Professor Thiersch's words, he might from our pages have copied some of them correctly. This we regret to say he has failed in doing. We remember an overgrown youth, who, being sent to travel by his parents, as the only education of which he was susceptible, was accustomed to borrow the letters, which he was compelled to send home, out of an old Guide Book. He had the good sense, however, to choose one in a language with which he was acquainted. Here Mr. Wyse has been unfortunate. It would seem that he is not master enough of the German tongue to translate with fidelity the book from which he has copied. And this may account for the rudeness, which he describes himself to have met with from the director at Brühl. The Duke of Wellington, after mentioning that a gentleman, who had come to him in France with good recommendations, complained that the French authorities, to whom he was referred for some important information, treated him with neglect, observes, "N. B. The gentleman can't talk French." Perhaps the conduct of the director at Brühl may be accounted for on a similar principle. So true is the old saying, that he who visits a country, without knowing the language, goes to school and not to travel.

But to point out a few of the errors to which we have made allusion. They are not mere verbal inaccuracies, but so darken the whole context, as in many cases to leave no consistent signification. Thus in page 417 we are told, that the pupils in the

seminary receive annual "stipends, answering to one-fourth, one-half, and three-fourths," of the expense of their subsistence. Yet in a preceding sentence it is said, that these stipends in general cover the whole expenses of living; a contradiction which arises from a mistranslation of the original. But perhaps the most amusing instance of the sort is contained in the following passage. "No precise period is fixed for the departure of the students: those who are beyond their thirtieth year are allowed to pass; not however without great precaution."—p. 417. Well might we expect that sombre and melancholy air which prevails, we are told, at Brühl, if its inmates are thus looking forward to the chance of perpetual imprisonment. If those who have not issued from it before the age of thirty are not to be allowed to pass out of it *without great precautions*, their durance must often be permanent. It is singular that in Mr. O'Connell's invectives against the King of Prussia for imprisoning two archbishops, he should have said nothing respecting this systematic oppression. It is said that a sturdy farmer from the fens of Cambridgeshire, being laughed at by some wags who were at a grated window in St. John's, shook his fist at them—"It is not for any good that you are in that prison." The hardship which Mr. Wyse describes is the fruit of as singular a misapprehension. He has altogether missed the meaning of what he designed to translate. What is stated in the original is this: "There is no extreme period fixed, *i. e.* for the *admission* of the students. Those, however, who are beyond their thirtieth year are not allowed to *enter* without extreme precaution."

We are reminded by the Antijacobin that there is such a thing as *kidnapping* the thoughts of others, *i. e.* "using them as gypsies do stolen children, disfiguring them to make them pass for our own." We are far from making so serious a charge against our author. His answer, we are convinced, would be like Dr. Johnson's, when a lady asked why he called the hock the knee of a horse—Ignorance, madam.—Sheer ignorance. There is indeed one passage, which, if not backed by so many other errors, might almost seem to justify this charge. It is so curious that we must beg the reader's attention while we notice it somewhat fully.

One of the first things which strikes us in the publication before us is, that while it professes to give the result of Mr. Wyse's own inquiries last year, the tables which it contains are anterior to 1835. The tables both in page 420 and page 421 end with 1834. This is a singular circumstance. Why should one of the brethren of Solomon's house travel thus far to procure

such antiquated documents? When one of the twelve appointed inquirers took the trouble of leaving his native land to gain for us the conclusions of his own commanding understanding, are we to be put off with any thing but the last stamp of truth? But what could Mr. Wyse do? Professor Thiersch travelled in 1834 and gave the state of things up to that year. Mr. Wyse had no data for any further period. But here comes the difficulty. In one excepted case Mr. Wyse boldly strikes out as of his proper knowledge.—“The following is the result of the admission examination of 1837.”—p. 417. This, of course, cannot be taken from Thiersch, who travelled only in 1834. Yet, strange to say, the numbers, with one\* exception, tally exactly with his. We turn to his pages and find “The following is the result of the admission examination for last year.

Circle of Dusseldorf, of 55 examined, 10 admitted.

Do. of Aix-la-Chapelle	32	10	.
Do. Cologne	32	16	.”

How are we to reconcile this precise set of numbers, which measures the result of the examination in 1834, with Mr. Wyse's statement, that this number expresses the candidates and the persons admitted in 1837? The answer is obvious. Mr. Wyse, who, like other men of genius, is contented to take a bird's-eye view of things, looked at the date of Thiersch's book, which was printed in 1838, and assumed therefore that the last year must needs be 1837. A little inspection would have informed him that the work consists of various diaries, and that each is dated from the year in which it was undertaken. Not having access at present to any documents on the subject, we certainly have no means of proving that the year 1837 may not have presented the same exact combination of numbers as 1834. But taking into account that the rest of Mr. Wyse's statement is a direct quotation, and that the recurrence of the same numbers in these several cases is infinitely improbable, it is far more reasonable to suppose that Mr. Wyse should have made an additional blunder than to admit the existence of so singular an accident. The same may be said of his next sentence. “In Coblenz 50 [candidates] appeared, but none were admitted.” Now this may have happened in the year 1837. But that it did we utterly disbelieve. We think it more likely that Mr. Wyse has misunderstood what, in the corresponding sentence in the German text, is stated respecting Coblenz in the autumn of 1834. “In Coblenz 50 [candidates] appeared,

\* Fifty-six is probably a false print for fifty-five. False prints are not unusual with Mr. Wyse. In page 416 he puts 1835 for 1823.

but the decision had not taken place." We leave it for others, however, to redeem Coblentz from the disgrace which has been thrown upon it by Mr. Wyse of presenting no candidate worthy of admission into the seminary. It is certainly an instance of impartiality, that he should have selected a place which is almost exclusively popish, as *Bœotum in crasso aëre natum*. Coblentz, however, has its advantages. Two noble rivers, the neighbouring rock of Ehrenbreitstein—we can think of no place where Lord Bacon would have better loved to see a detachment of Solomon's house established. And considering that in London it has found so unfavourable a soil, that we are assured by Dr. Spry that in September last it was without fixed residence or address—that it had neither local habitation nor name—that it was not known at the post office, [perhaps he addressed his letter "to the Brethren of Solomon's House," whereas by men it may be known as the Central Society,] considering all this, we should strongly recommend that the society, (this "lanthorn of the kingdom,") which has fared so ill at home, should be transferred to the more congenial air of Coblentz. We make this recommendation, on the supposition that for once Mr. Wyse is right, and that, like the *Ætolian Tydeus*, when he was opposed to fifty *Bœotians*, the examiners at Coblentz made havoc of these men of *Bœotian* understanding

"Those fifty slaughtered in the gloomy vale."—

*Pope's Homer's Iliad*, iv. 448.

But if, as is infinitely more probable, the fault be altogether on the side of Mr. Wyse, and not at all in the air or inhabitants of Coblentz, some place may, no doubt, be found, where reports may be pirated without fear of criticism, and errors committed without danger of correction.

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ART. V.—*The State in its Relations with the Church.* By W. E. Gladstone, Esq. Student of Christ Church, and M. P. for Newark. Third Edition. London : Murray. 1839.

IF we may, without irreverence, form a conjecture on the providential tendency of things as we see them, we should be inclined to say, that in the turn which events have been taking among us, often most contrary to human expectation, for the last ten or eleven years, we may perhaps discern symptoms of two main overruling purposes, such as may hereafter serve as a key to not the least intricate of the chapters of English history. Ever since the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, perhaps we might say ever since the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the stream of events seems to have tended, on the one hand, to the permanent elevation of the enemies of the Church in the State, on the other hand, to the preservation, in spite of them, of her substance and framework, as well as to the revival of her spirit among us. How many times during this long struggle has it appeared, that according to all political calculation the Conservative party must be on the point of triumphing! and as often some unexpected event, some caprice or accident which could not be reckoned upon, has disconcerted all man's expectations, and left us just where we were: excepting of course the gradual power which the movement cannot but acquire from its continuance. On the other hand, have we not repeatedly seen measures, which even the defenders of order united more or less with its disturbers in patronizing, unaccountably lingering and impeded, when there was hardly a minority to skirmish with them, and failing, and postponed, session after session, by some defect in form, or other inexplicable forgetfulness. The Cathedral Bill, now three years old, yet hardly born, will occur to every one; and we may mention the Bill for admitting Dissenters to the Universities, the abolition of the See of Sodor and Man, the various Education schemes, and even as we write, we hope we may venture to add, the Church Discipline Bill. There are circumstances in the history of each of these, which, taken together, suggest the idea of a peculiar guardianship over this part of Christ's household, exercised in a trying and perplexing conjuncture to prevent us from inadvertently betraying ourselves. May it be said without presumption, that conjoining them with the other series, the two together seem to point to a high, but trying and perilous destiny, as probably reserved for the coming generation of our Lord's faithful servants in this realm. We may be mistaken: but the review of them seems to us to produce an impression analogous to that, which has been stated to result from a certain cast of features, majestic yet melancholy, such as those of King Charles I.: they

lead, as we contemplate them, in spite of ourselves, to anticipations of violence borne with composure: they seem to bid us hope that our Lord will still have a Church here, yet to warn us, that its existence must be purchased by no slight privation and suffering.

Supposing anticipations somewhat like these to occupy the mind of a thoughtful Churchman, he would probably notice the appearance of such a work as Mr. Gladstone's, as a powerful confirmation both to his fears and hopes. Here we have no village theorizer, no cloistered alarmist, but a public man, and a man of the world, a statesman of the highest talent for business, an orator who commands the ear of the House of Commons; so deeply impressed with the perils of our Church's position at this moment, that he makes time to develope and express his views, deep and manifold, and brought out with serious labour, of the very sacred nature of her connection with the State; if haply he may lead any to think earnestly of it, who have hitherto treated it as a mere party question. We find him writing in a tone, not indeed of despondency, but of very deep and serious alarm; not as one who gave up the defence of a place, but as one who thought the time was come for making a last effort, and calling out those who would not shrink from a forlorn hope.

"I know not," he says, "whether it be presumptuous to say . . . . that the changes which have appeared, and which are daily unfolding themselves, in connection with the movement towards the overthrow of National Church Establishments, seem as if they were gradually supplying what yet remained void in those fore-ordered dispensations of the Deity towards man which are traced throughout the history of this wayward world."—ch. viii. 2.

And again:

"In combating the obstinate irreligion of the world, it is something that the authentic permanent convictions of men are declared, beyond dispute, to be with us, by the legalised existence and support of the fixed institutions of religion; but the conclusion, towards which we are now led and driven, threatened and cajoled, will reverse the whole of this beneficial influence, and will throw it into the opposite direction, to co-operate with the scoffer, the profligate, the unbelieving, the indifferent, when it shall be told, amidst the exultation of some and the tears of others, that there was a time when the power of thrones and the paternal functions of government bore witness to the faith of Christ, and that the witness is now withdrawn, and thus the truth emphatically denied."—*ib.* 29.

The cast of these sentences is evidently any thing but sanguine: and considering Mr. Gladstone's character and position, we cannot but regard the simple fact of his allowing himself in such forebodings, as a striking lesson to the too easy friends of Church and State; of whom there are still a good many, who shake their



heads indeed abundantly at each bad measure as it comes on, yet obstinately refuse to contemplate, as a possible contingency, the result of the whole; or any thing else which would disturb the even tenor of their Sundays and week-days, their summer tours and winter dining parties. Surely it were well to look things in the face, and be prepared with some notion what our own duties would be in a case which has been pronounced on such authority so far from impossible.

But further: we find also in Mr. Gladstone's undertaking warrant for the more consolatory part of our own anticipations. He states the more immediate occasion of his work to be an apprehended co-operation of two very different classes in the work of dissolving the Church Establishment. Having mentioned Destructives of various sorts, he adds (c. i. § 2.) that—

“Others of a different stamp are beginning to view the connection of Church and State with an eye of aversion or indifference: men attached to the state, but more affectionately and intimately cleaving to the Church, unwilling to regard the two as in any sense having opposite interests, but wearied, perhaps exasperated, at the injustice done of late years, or rather during recent generations, by the temporal to the spiritual body; injustice, inasmuch as the State has too frequently perverted and abused the institutions of the Church by unworthy patronage, has crippled or suppressed her lawful powers, and has lastly, when these same misdeeds have raised a strong sentiment of disfavour against its ally, evinced an inclination to make a separate peace, and surrender her to the will of her adversaries. Such being the case, we can hardly wonder, though we may lament it, that some attached members of the Church are growing cool in their approbation of the connection”—

We stop the quotation to demur to the next clause, “under the influence of a nascent and unconscious resentment”: first, because the feeling in such cases is commonly, we apprehend, far too vivid to be unconscious; it gives warning of itself, and puts men of high principles on their guard very distinctly from the beginning: next because it is begging the question to assume that the scruples referred to are matter of personal feeling, and not of conscientious regard to rights and trusts: and there are other considerations, to be presently mentioned. But we return to the immediate purpose for which we were referring to these expressions: they are consolatory so far as this, that they testify to the existence of no inconsiderable body of men, so deeply rooted in right principles, that instead of fearing lest they should be tempted to compromise the Church itself for the Establishment, sagacious observers are only alarmed lest they too easily forego the advantages of the Establishment for the Church's sake. So that, come what will, we may hope, please God, to have a faithful remnant in our land: and that surely is as much as in any case attentive readers of Church history could well dare expect.

But Mr. Gladstone's publication is also most encouraging in another way: from the earnest it gives us that even in the high places of the State there are those who never will forsake the City of God, and still more from the rare and noble specimen which it exhibits of what sound religious (in which term we include sound ecclesiastical) principles can do for a person in the most dangerous walks of life: how neither political nor intellectual importance can mar the freshness, the simplicity, the generosity, and (more than all, for it lies at the root of all,) the reverential spirit, with which the Church's true scholars enter on these high and delicate practical discussions. We will say no more, for we feel as if this were one of the cases where praise is little better than impertinence: only we must just point out his dedication as an unequivocal instance of the tone which his work preserves throughout, and of the uncompromising desire which he evidently feels to stand in all events irrevocably committed to the cause of primitive truth and order. He inscribes his work to the University of Oxford, "in the hope that the temper of it may be found not alien from her own." To appreciate worthily such an avowal as this, one ought probably to know more of the House of Commons, and of the tone of high metropolitan society at present, than we, or perhaps most of our readers, do: but we should not, it may be, greatly err, if we considered it as an instance of courage akin to that of Jonathan, when he remonstrated with his over-politic and tyrannical father, "who is so faithful among all the King's servants as David?" Or, to take a yet graver example, it may remind us of that highly favored one, who was cast out of the synagogue for saying, "Herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not from whence He is, and yet He hath opened mine eyes."

It is part of this earnest and thoughtful view, that he has declined the term "Alliance" in the title of his work; as implying too much personal distinction, and suggesting the low and false doctrine that the State is free to choose in such a matter. We are rejoiced to have his high authority in deprecating a mode of speech so apt to mislead: and the need of some such caution is the more apparent, as we perceive that Mr. Gladstone himself has not always been able to avoid it\*: and it may perhaps have here and there communicated to his reasonings an unconscious tinge, we will not say of Erastianism, but of State as distinct from Church policy. In other writers, and those too such as we are bound to regard with much gratitude and respect, the ill effect of such phraseology is still more apparent. How, for example, but the inveterate use of it, are we to account for such a sentiment as the following, adopted by way of deprecation of certain complaints of the State's usurpation, by a writer who in other ways has shown so true a sense

\* See c. ii. 61, 69; iv. 4, 7, 8, 9.

of the Church's claims? "The Church is not united to the State as Israel to Egypt: it is united as a believing wife to a husband who threatens to apostatize; and as a Christian wife so placed would act, with patience, and love, and tears, and zealous entreaties, and prayers, hoping even against hope, and clinging to the connexion until a law of God dis severed it: so the Church must struggle even now, and save not herself but the State from the crime of a divorce."\*

We had thought that the Spouse of the Church was a very different Person from any or all States, and her relation to the State, through him, very unlike that whose duties are summed up in "love, service, cherishing and obedience." And since the one is exclusively of this world, the other essentially of the eternal world, such an alliance as the above sentence describes would have seemed to us not only fatal, but monstrous:

"Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis,  
Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora:  
Tormenti genus!"

To us, we confess, the word Incorporation, though Mr. Gladstone at once discards it, would have appeared in the abstract far preferable to Marriage, Alliance, Union, or any other like them: provided always that we understand it as the meaning of the terms requires, of the admission of any particular State, as of any particular individual, into the bosom of the Holy Universal Church: reserving the superiority, according to the idea of a Corporation, to the body adopting, for the benefit of the member adopted.

We are bound in fairness to acknowledge that Mr. Gladstone's theory, though remote from the lax and unworthy notions unwarily sanctioned in the passage just animadverted on, yet seems hardly to come up to our own view of the relations of Church and State. The way in which he arrives at it is briefly this:—for we think it best shortly to analyse his argument, clear as it is, and certain as we deem it that almost all our readers are long since familiar with it. It is the fairest way in reviewing argumentative works, for the same reason that in actual debate it is well to state what you understand to be the drift of the other party, before you allege your own views.—

He begins by a short notice of the most popular among former theories on the relation of the Church to the State: Hooker. Warburton, Paley, Coleridge, Dr. Chalmers. Of these he finds some entirely deficient in principle, such as Warburton and Paley, both of whom in fact deny to the State any conscience in the matter, making it the business of governments to ally themselves, not with that society which Christ established, but with any sect which

\* Quarterly Review, No. cxxvi. p. 561.

may suit best their political purposes. Dr. Chalmers sets out on the same road with them, but parts company when the question is started, "what is to be done when the prevalent sect is unevangelical in doctrine?" allowing therefore the principle, that the State has a conscience, and is bound to teach the truth, but denying whatever is high and transcendental in the claims of the Church, as a Church, i. e. as the Kingdom of Christ, and not merely a witness of His Truth. With Hooker and Coleridge Mr. Gladstone seems substantially to agree in principle, but he complains that neither of them applies so immediately as might be wished to the exigencies of our present condition; the former treating rather of the terms than of the ground of the Union, and of those with almost an exclusive eye to the controversies of his own day; the latter confining himself to a sketch of his view in the abstract, with hardly any thing of detail or practical application. The extreme theories of Hobbes and Bellarmine, the one making the whole Church the creature of the State, the other the State the slave of the particular Church of Rome, he thinks it enough just to mention, as beacons on opposite sides of the course to be pursued. Hobbes's is in fact the same with that of Machiavelli and others, which Hooker denominates "godless politics:" and is essentially atheistical, at least if it be atheism virtually to deny God's moral government. In our days, the same impiety vents itself in a different kind of policy: instead of counterfeiting one religion to keep in order an ignorant superstitious generation, we are counselled to neglect all, that an enlightened philosophical race may have scope for its energies. A change in the controversy, by no means insignificant among the many symptoms, which seem just now to show which way Modern Europe is verging, in such measure as she has thrown off her reverence for the Holy Catholic Church.

Against this latter form of practical atheism in particular, the notion that the civil magistrate as such has nothing to do with religion, Mr. Gladstone advances in substance the following propositions, which contain what we may call his own theory of the mutual relations of the two societies, and which he addresses to all who believe God's moral government. *First*, Governors, as individuals, lie under an obligation to profess and maintain religion in their government as in other parts of their conduct. *Secondly*, The State itself, taken collectively, has a personal existence, a duty and a conscience, and is therefore bound, collectively, to the same profession and maintenance. *Thirdly*, If externally able and internally qualified, and if the same thing cannot be so well done otherwise, the State ought to extend and propagate the same religion through the nation. But the same thing cannot be so well done otherwise, as the failure of the voluntary system, left alone, proves:

and the State is externally competent, both as having the means of endowment, and as coming to men's minds with authority, and appealing both to their sympathies and interests: and lastly, the government is intrinsically competent, i.e. in proportion as it is good government, it attracts to itself those among the people who are best qualified to choose in matter of religion.

This last statement, it is important to observe, constitutes no necessary part of the argument: as Mr. Gladstone himself has remarked, ch. ii, 47. "Even if we suppose that the government had no such superiority, we are still at liberty to argue that it is bound to establish a religion." And it is well that he has so guarded himself: for undoubtedly a theory would not seem likely to carry much weight, which depended for its practical effect upon the statement, that this or any other government is apt to attract to itself "the best wisdom of the nation:" by which in this instance must be meant the persons best qualified to judge of religious truth. Such a proposition is valid indeed as an *argumentum ad hominem*, when we are reasoning with idolizers of the State; as it is with reformers enamoured of their own power, and expecting all good from the development of their principles: to them, if reason could silence them, it would be reasonable to say, "By your own account, the improved constitution of England is such as to engage in the actual government of the nation those who are best fitted to make choice, in all important questions, for the rest: you cannot therefore, if you will be consistent, deny them a natural influence in religion also:"—but what if any person, so far from adopting this sanguine view, should believe that according to present arrangements, it is morally impossible, but that unsound and superficial notions even on most of the great temporal questions, should prevail, generally speaking, in the councils of his country? What if he should think that all experience is against the idea, that successful political partizans are commonly good judges of religious truth? What if the very nature of the case exclude them, *as a class*? that there may be splendid exceptions we thankfully allow. Surely it will be difficult to exclude from this subject the application of the text, "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called." If the best judges of religious truth are those who most devoutly practise religion; if the high places of the world are eminently unfavourable to the Kingdom of God; if the poor, as such, are "chosen to be rich in faith;" if "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light;" then whatever favourable exceptions a merciful Providence may at times allow, it does not seem easy even to imagine a country so constituted, that the best judges in matters of religion shall be permanently or commonly the prevailing party in it.

Waiving therefore this portion of the argument, we may yet concur most heartily with Mr. Gladstone in all that he proceeds to say, of the inducements which the State has to employ its means according to its competency, be that competency little or much, for the recommendation and propagation of religious truth, and especially of the Church. Besides the reasons which are commonly alleged on this head, he dwells with unanswerable force on the two following topics: the subjugation of individual will by the discipline of the Church, and the permanency of its doctrines and institutions; which latter again brings this great collateral advantage, that whereas,

“it is most difficult and invidious for governors to select any one form of mere opinion as such, and endow it; or any institution, simply preferred because the doctrines taught in it are agreeable to the views entertained by themselves: the Church professes to be an institution not deduced by human reason from any general declaration of God’s will, but actually, and (so to speak) bodily given by God, founded through His direct inspiration, and regularly transmitted in a divinely appointed though human line. The State therefore does not here propose an opinion of its own for the approbation of the people, but a system to which it has itself yielded faith and homage, as of divine authority. The difference is twofold: it is that between inheritance and acquisition: it is that between an attested and a conjectural authority from God.”—ii. 61.

Lastly, it is argued, that the support and promotion of the Church, thus on state principles made imperative, must also be *exclusive*, even on the same principles; and still more when her own sacred law of unity is considered. If in any country either the governing body or the whole state be unhappily so divided in religion, that this object cannot be achieved, “we do not here trace out all the consequences, but it has been shown that this involves dereliction of the functions and responsibilities of government; and it is enough, for the present, to have marked it as *a social defect and calamity*.”—*ib.* 71.

We are too well aware how little justice we have done, in this brief and meagre summary, to Mr. Gladstone’s statement of his leading principles. But his style is so condensed, and so full of matter, that we feel an adequate analysis to be out of the question. A paraphrase, occasionally, seems rather what is wanted, to bring out the connection and relative importance of various portions of the argument, in which the author perhaps has given his readers credit for more of his own thoughtfulness than they are likely to possess. In this as in some other respects he reminds us sometimes of Aristotle’s manner in the *Ethics*: although the tone of strong but subdued feelings, which is the great charm of the Christian statesman’s work, be rarely and faintly heard from the heathen moralist.

We have mentioned that the treatise has throughout an aspect to two classes of opponents, who are supposed likely to unite in disparaging the Establishment as such: and to the answering of their objections in detail, the author addresses himself in the chapters which follow the second. On the first sort of scruples, however, those, namely, which are felt by Liberals of all classes about the question, whether the State has any thing to do with Religion, it is not our purpose now to dwell, any further than to express our surprise, that any writer of tolerable acuteness should have fancied the affirmative sufficiently disproved, by merely finding out ludicrous analogies for the doctrine of the State's personality, and its having a conscience. It is said,\* "At this rate our Railway and Insurance Companies, our agricultural, astronomical, horticultural meetings, nay our cricket and chess clubs, are religious societies, and are bound in conscience to exclude unbelievers, and apply some test to the religious opinions of all whom they employ.

Now, raillery apart, is it not certain that all companies and associations of Christians are in a very true sense religious societies? Would the deviser of these facetious sayings, if seriously asked, himself deny, that each and all of the associations which have been named come within the Apostolical rule, Do all to the glory of God? and that accordingly, if they can any how be any of them turned towards the end of God's kingdom, it is our duty so to turn them? But this once allowed, (and it seems almost an axiom, unless men are content to deny His moral government,) "the rest," as some one has said, "is matter of calculation." The director of a railroad, or coach company, is to consider whether the great end is or is not likely to be promoted by his discouragement of Sunday travelling, of drunkenness and blasphemy, among those who are for the time, and to a certain extent, committed to his charge. The master of a family has to consider, whether or no the interests of morality, i. e. regard to God's will, require him in any particular case to practise what is called invidiously exclusive dealing. The obligation in every such instance, how inferior soever in importance, is the same in kind with that, which in the case of governments appears, to certain philosophic statesmen, mere matter of scorn and ridicule. If they carry their principles out in their domestic arrangements, all we can say is, may our servants keep at a distance from their servants, and our children from their children.

This might be said, even on the lowest view of the origin of civil government, and supposing it no more of divine institution than any of the voluntary combinations above mentioned. But with Mr. Gladstone the province of the statesman is as much

\* See *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1839.

more awful than these and more sacred in its kind, as it is more momentous in reach and extent. The will of God, as made known by the course of universal Providence, and by the unsophisticated feelings of all mankind, is surely his warrant, when he pours himself out, as in the following noble passage, on the true nature of his calling as a political man, and the responsibility which belongs to all who take on themselves any part of the conduct of a nation.

“Habituated to the false or secondary conceptions which arise out of our inveterate political sectarianism, we are very apt to look upon the State in an irreverent or careless temper, and to forget that next to the Church it exhibits the grandest of all combinations of human beings. It is a venerable idea, in which the supremacy of law as opposed to mere will is asserted, by which the sociality and inter-dependence of our nature are proclaimed, and the best acts and thoughts are arrested and perpetuated in institutions, and a collective wisdom is made available for individuals, and the individual is humbled and disciplined by being kept in qualified subordination to the mass. The adoption of a moral principle, or scheme, or institution, by the State, is among the most solemn and the most pregnant of human acts: and although it cannot place what it adopts upon a ground higher than its own, any more than water can rise above its level, yet that ground is one of an order having more of natural justice, more of experimentally demonstrated permanence, more of divine authentication, than any other except the Church, which it feebly though perceptibly imitates; and certainly much more than that private will, which, sooner or later, learns to wanton in the whole spirit and practice of dissent, reversing every fundamental law of the universe, and asserting the isolation, and defying the arbitrary caprice of man.”—c. iii. § 39.

We do not envy those who can find in such aspirations as these matter of derision, as if it were all but mere mysticism: nor do we see how, consistently with their view, they can profess to receive as unerring, a Book which declares that by the Wisdom and Word of the Most High—by the Providence of His Son, and under Him;—“kings reign and princes decree justice:” and not only kings and princes, but all who are concerned in the legitimate exercise of government: even “all the judges of the earth:”<sup>\*</sup> which verse, if we read its meaning rightly, (and that we do so we have the concurrent witness of the whole Church in its first and pure ages,) represents to us civil governors, and especially kings, as manifestations, in their several spheres, of our Lord and Saviour; not less really so than his Priests are in his Church, though with different and inferior functions. It can be no light perversion of mind, which would lead any school or any individual to deal with an institution so warranted and originated, as if it were no more sacred in its kind—had no more to do with God’s

\* Proverbs, viii. 15, 16.



universal government—than any of the fleeting and frivolous assemblages of the day.

Dismissing therefore, as decidedly irreligious, this whole class of objections, we shall address ourselves, in what we have further to say, to the other side, which only, to Churchmen, is the side of practical difficulty. Mr. Gladstone professes to vindicate, not only the abstract principle of establishment, but also the particular form in which the relation of Church and State appears in this country at present; not only the ground, but the terms of the union. In doing so, he has sometimes expressed himself as if he thought that not only the more conscientious sort of Dissenters, but some too who would be accounted High Churchmen, had been led by events to disparage and deprecate the principle itself, of the incorporation of the State in the Church. Now, we must once for all avow, that we know not any where of this combination of opinions. We have never met with—we have never read of—any set of persons admitting the divine origin and paramount claims of the Apostolical Church, yet denying the obligation of the civil magistrate to enter into relations with it. All the scruples and demurs that we have met with in such persons have had reference, not to the principle of incorporation, but to the terms of it in this or that particular instance. We apprehend, therefore, that Mr. Gladstone is mistaken, if he thinks, as some of his expressions appear to imply, that any thing which has happened in the way of wrong done to the Church, or of unworthy compromise on the part of her defenders, has caused *such* religionists to doubt or deny the duty of the State to connect itself with the Church. They are perfectly aware of that duty, and of the danger of falling away from it: as will have been seen by the application of the text in Proverbs, just above (if that may be admitted as a fair statement of their views): they are quite convinced that both Church and State are (though in several ways) of divine appointment: that kings, as well as bishops, are in a manner representatives of Jesus Christ on earth, consequently that our duties to the one, rightly understood, can never, by any possibility, clash with our duties to the other. Nay, they may perhaps be ready to go further than the plan of Mr. Gladstone's work enabled him to do, in asserting, not only the wisdom and rectitude, but the positive divine institution, of a certain relation between the Church and the State. They may think that Holy Scripture distinctly shows us the seal of the Almighty, set to the reasonings of wise men, and the natural feelings of religious men, in favour of that connection; feelings and reasonings, before sufficient to constitute a strong practical obligation, but which, so confirmed, come to us as remembrancers from above of a duty which may not be denied nor evaded. To go no further

for the present in Scripture: such persons might even be content to rest their doctrine on the well-known texts of Isaiah,\* which represent the temporal powers as Nursing Fathers and Mothers to the children of the Church: texts which have been often and ably alleged, as virtually containing the terms of the union in question; and which it seems hard for any sophistry to expound, so as that they shall not plainly express a divine sanction and ground for that union. And that which is divinely sanctioned and grounded cannot in itself be a cause of degeneracy and sin. No fear then, lest those who, with the unanswerable Leslie,† interpret those prophetic sayings as a divine intimation of the duty of the State to the Church, should ever give in, as seems to be suspected, to the tenet of the upholders of the modern voluntary system: that *any* positive connection of the Church with the powers of this world, is in the very nature of the case, sure to lower both her doctrine and her morals.

Where then is the point of difference between those who sympathise with such writers as Leslie, and those who really venerate primitive antiquity, yet still continue anxious defenders of things as they are among ourselves? Practically, we apprehend, it comes to this; rather to lessen their satisfaction and confidence with the former in the cause, than to withdraw from the ranks. In elections they will still be found voting for the Conservative candidate; their names will not be wanting, when the proper authorities are to be appealed to, in behalf of such influences as the government still allows the Church to exert on it: they feel that it is the part of resignation and obedience to go on, though in much doubt and perplexity, and keep things quiet as long as ever conscience will allow, but they dare not conceal that they do so with a heavy heart, and in continual fear of giving up truth and duty: they cannot sympathise with the notes of exultation, with which eager partizans and shallow speculators welcome each onward step of what they call the cause of the Church. They feel themselves continually called to the disagreeable duty of protesting against the lax notions and irreverent proceedings of those with whom themselves are acting: of damping unseasonable triumphs, and checking plans of policy and compromise, often devised in good faith, but tending, as they clearly see, to the surrender of something which they dare not give up: of silencing their own scruples and regrets, in deference to the wishes of those who have a right to direct them, when according to all the rules in which they have been instructed, perhaps by those very authorities, the time of passive resistance would seem to be full come: and for half a life perhaps, they have to lie down and rise up in a corroding uncertainty, whether or no they are doing

\* Chap. xlix, 22, 23; lx. 3, 4, 10, 12, 16.

† Case of the Regale, § 6.

their best, according to their station, to warn their country and their countrymen of the fatal consequences of dealing rudely with God's Church.

Such, it seems to us would be some of the sensations, with which one thoroughly imbued with ancient principles would find himself continually forced to qualify his adherence, under present circumstances, to the supporters of the connexion of Church and State in this kingdom. Nor will any one be surprised at the statement, who will consider how much the trial of us all consists in doubts and perplexities about duty, stationed as we are in paths made intricate by our own sins and errors, and those of our forefathers.

In justice to our own view, we must mention some of the particulars, though to most of our readers they will probably occur of themselves, which may not unnaturally cause a public man to feel dejected and embarrassed, even in asserting a cause which at first glance would seem to combine all that is elevating and ennobling. And if in doing so, we have incidentally to question some of Mr. Gladstone's positions, we shall do so with less scruple, because the influences are to our view so evident, which would lead a person in his circumstances to survey with too favourable an eye the alliance as it exists. A statesman admitted behind the scenes must see, we fear, so much of moral unsoundness and decay in every department, as to make him more than ever unwilling to part with any little relic of homage which may but seem to be still paid to Religion, and he has the same kind of temptation to overvalue it, and pay too dear for it, as clergymen in unmanageable parishes have, to press the outward services of Religion on those who lead unworthy and immoral lives. The nearer the evil is brought to himself, the more does he shrink from realizing it: especially if he have, with Mr. Gladstone, a keen perception of the exceeding sinfulness of the State's disavowing the Church: if he feel that such a step must be, sooner or later,\* ruin to the offending party. A public man who reads his Bible, can never overlook the awful sanction, which attends on his country's relation to the Church: *"The nation and kingdom which will not serve thee shall perish, yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted."* It is not in human nature, but that he should hide his eyes from the fearful conviction that this sentence is virtually passed on the state and country in whose service he himself is engaged. He will go on in hope, believing against hope, after others at a greater distance have seen clearly that the time for hope is over. In his zeal to avert

\* Sooner or later; and therefore the case of the United States, or of much older countries, which have refused to obey the Church, is no objection to the argument. We see not yet what will come of it.

that final revolt, which he knows must decide the doom of his nation, he will be instinctively disposed to think too slightly of the sacrifice of principle likely to be involved in the successive accommodations which may be proposed to the Church: not perceiving that the sentence has gone forth already, the nation and kingdom *has* refused to serve the Church, when it has once forced on the Church terms which amount to a renunciation of her fundamental rules. Her giving way in such a case can do no good to the nation, nay rather harm, as encouraging it in ill, and lessening its chance of coming to a better mind: and it will include the Church herself in the ruin. Natural then as it may be to do so, yet we must not hide our eyes from the fact, that better had the country be ruined than the Church apostatize; or rather, better had the first fall alone, than drag down the other with it.

The best way perhaps to realize the drift of this, is to put a strong case, such an one as nobody would hesitate in, and then observe how less flagrant cases may insensibly work up to it, and come in the end to the same mischief. Imagine a state then in which liberal principles prevailed, deferring so far to the outcry against supposed human tests, as to make it a condition of the alliance, that the Church should abstain from the use of all the Creeds. This, we take it for granted, would amount, in Mr. Gladstone's view, to a *casus fœderis*. And yet a great many human probabilities might be alleged, unanswerable in their kind, to justify continuing in the alliance, even at that sacrifice. Morality, and faith too, it might be plausibly argued, would be more advanced in the country by the *general* diffusion of the Scriptures and the Sacraments alone, than by their *partial* adoption, under the national sanction, with the safeguard of a pure creed, by those only whom a voluntary system could reach. But no such reasoning would avail with a person trained in the school of the Church. He would be aware that Catholic tradition in fundamentals is divine, and may not be dispensed with for any human views of spiritual expediency.

Imagine next a less startling case: that instead of omitting all the Creeds, we are required to part with all except the Apostles'. Here the student of antiquity, being aware of the irresistible claim of the Nicene Creed to be esteemed a portion of the apostolical tradition, and not knowing how near the silencing the voice of such a council may come to rejecting a part of God's own word, will probably feel little more hesitation than before: but we should not wonder if some of those, who venerate tradition and the Church in general, but have not had leisure to examine details, began even at this point to waver: and still more would they do so at the next, when the question rose about the Creed of St. Athanasius; as is too plainly shown by the example

of the American Church in her formularies, and, as we fear, too generally by that of our own Church, nay, and of the Scottish Church, in their practice. We consider these as cases in point, because we apprehend there can be no doubt that the concessions in question are accommodations to the mind of the laity, and represent so far a kind of state influence.

Now, even by these few imaginary examples, it seems to us not obscure, that the conservative tendencies of the very best public men require to be watched, in this matter of the conditions of an establishment, by persons more exclusively concerned for the spiritual integrity of the Church.

We observe, what greatly confirms us in this idea, that even the high-minded writer before us has not been quite able to keep his language clear of a certain utilitarian tone: we mean not utilitarian in any low or offensive sense, but simply as denoting somewhat too much of regard to intelligible and visible results in our estimate of a system, the purposes whereof we are confessedly so very ignorant of. Thus he writes—

“Her end is ‘the greatest holiness of the greatest number.’ Her inanimate machinery has no capability of pleasure and pain; has no interests in any intelligible sense. Her living members have all one and the same interest: the aggregate of that interest constitutes the interest of the Church, and it is the production, not of the greatest possible excitement connected with religion, nor of the greatest possible enjoyment connected with religion, nor of the greatest possible appearance of religion; nay, not even the greatest possible quantity of actual religion, at any time or place; but the greatest possible permanent and substantial amount of religion within that sphere over which its means of operation extend. By religion, we would be understood to mean, conformity to the will of God.”—c. iii. 23.

And again,—

“Nothing can stand against the proof (if proof could be given) that the diminished amount or deteriorated quality of personal religion is the result of that alliance, which we have affirmed to be not less grounded on the nature and truth of things, than affirmed by the general suffrage of mankind.”—c. iii. 1.

Again, he argues for the Presbyterianism of Scotland, that “we have seen it by a long experience to be not without the blessing of God, and operative for good on human character.”—vi. 75. May it be said without offence, that sentences of this cast need always to be guarded by the recollection, what inadequate judges we are, either of the manifold ends of the Redeemer’s kingdom, or of the degree in which “the greatest holiness of the greatest number,” which is but one of them, is affected by any particular measure or system? On this subject all, and especially all who

are in a position to influence others extensively, would do well to study Bishop Butler's admirable sermon, *The Gospel a Witness to all Nations*. It would help them to bear in mind the awful truth, that "the purposes of Providence are carried on by the preaching of the Gospel to those who reject it, as well as to those who receive it."—"Thou shalt speak My words unto them, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear: for they are most rebellious." It is evident, that sayings such as these point to a very different standard of the proceedings of the witnesses of the Gospel, from the actual degree in which mankind are seen to benefit by them: and that the latter rule will require in practice to be continually checked by the former.

One thing we may be quite sure of: that what God clearly wills, that must in the end be expedient, whether we ever come to discern it or no: and thus it is, that discerning in His word clear indications of His will that the Church should be in a certain sense politically established, we should acquiesce in *such* an establishment, though our human and outward experience led us to anticipate more harm than good at the result of it; and on the other hand, whatever degree of holiness any given arrangement might seem to produce, we could not acquiesce in it, if clearly opposed to the revealed canon on such matters.

Now the life of a statesman must of necessity be spent very much in calculations of expediency, and in measuring things by their visible results: and the habit of thought so generated may sometimes be unfavourable to that particular exercise of faith, the necessity of which in all church questions we have now tried to point out; and especially when he has been used to dwell, affectionately and thankfully, upon the real good results which he can discern. He might be willing to hazard himself, but he fears to hazard others, to hazard even their spiritual interests, upon pure adherence to some portion of God's will, the practical tendency whereof is not perhaps apparent. To make such a venture on a large scale, maturely, wisely, resolutely, charitably, may, for aught we know, be one of the highest acts here on earth of a pure and saintly faith; it may require a completer church education than this age can anywhere supply: yet it may do us all good to recollect that there has been once an Athanasius who "stood against the world, and prevailed;" and that he did so, chiefly by disregarding results when revealed rules and principles were at stake.

But in addition to this scarcely avoidable effect of public life as such, there is a certain personal feeling,—may we be excused for hinting at it?—which we fancy we can discern in that class of statesmen whose views, generally speaking, we suppose to be

embodied in this book : which cannot but unconsciously bias their reasonings on doubtful matters discussed in it. It is natural they should be impressed, as public men, with a deep sense of the desecration of their calling, which they apprehend must follow, should ever the service of the State in this country be authoritatively and formally separated from that of the Church. As it is, there is probably enough, and more than enough, to disgust them and make them fear contamination, in the wear and tear of parliamentary and official life : and when the mitigating circumstances are withdrawn ; when no blessing from the Church shall precede the daily labours of the Houses of Parliament ; when no holidays, perhaps no Sundays, shall be recognized except on profane and secular grounds ; when the notion of doing anything for the Church shall have become as obsolete as is now the notion of confining high office to churchmen ; when, above all, they have no longer to accompany them in their most irksome and unsatisfactory toils, the consciousness that all is but part of the price of the continuance of so great a blessing as the presence of the Church in all parts of the realm : then, indeed, we may well believe that their calling may seem perfectly intolerable, their occupation quite gone : while yet in withdrawing from it, the dreary thought will accompany them, that they are giving up their country altogether, and leaving it without hope in the hands of the anti-christian party. Instinctive anticipations of this kind may well render persons slow—we will not say—to allow the separation of Church and State, but, to admit the fact of such separation, after it has virtually taken place ; and certainly it does seem almost like asking too much, even of the most devoted children and servants of the Church, to urge on them the continuance of their thankless toil, even in such an extreme case : yet we know the illustrious scripture examples, of persons who served in the courts of heathen monarchs, with an eye, throughout, assuredly, to the welfare of God's people, and were rewarded beyond all personal advancement, by being made instruments of the greatest deliverances to Israel.

But it may be said, Joseph and Daniel condescended to minister, not to apostate but merely to heathen princes : and there was not the same scandal in belonging to their courts, as in persevering to act under a polity which was Christian and has ceased to be so. We reply, Even under Ahab, Obadiah, who “feared the Lord greatly,” continued to be over the king's household : nor do we find in the times immediately before the captivity, that the prophets and others whose personal obedience was unsullied, declined to act under or to counsel the fallen kings of Judah. And as the Christians of the three first centuries were

willing to serve in the Pagan courts and armies, only, of course, keeping themselves from all communication with idolatry; so we read not that those of the fourth counted it unlawful to hold civil or military commissions from Constantius, Julian, or Valens, apostates as they were. Undoubtedly the condition will be a most undesirable one, but we can conceive it undertaken and borne in the spirit of a confessor, and bringing with it a great reward.

Or if things should become too bad even for this: if such a state (no unlikely proceeding) should even go on to exclude from her councils the attached members of the Church, imposing, e. g. such a test, under plea of guarding against intolerance, as would amount to disavowal of any exclusive system: then, indeed, the State must be given up, and it would be impossible for a good Christian to serve it; but no reason whatever to despair of the temporal fortunes of the Kingdom of Heaven: then would the manly and dutiful minds, who now least endure the thought of separation, be driven perforce into the direct and avowed service of the Church alone; and who can tell what great results it might please the Almighty to bring about by such a concentration of the noblest energies in the one high and self-denying cause? For aught we know, if human haste and restlessness mar not His gracious purpose, He may have in store for us, by means such as these, a conversion, not of barbarous heathens, but more wonderful yet, of civilized and lapsed Christians, which may once again change the whole face of Christendom as completely as that which ensued on the downfall of the Roman empire. At all events, the last thing which those who would serve Him in faith need fear, is being left out of His ranks, having their place on earth entirely unhallowed. Each day of their trial, as it brings its own task, will bring also its light to shew and its strength to bear that task: and the more they can use themselves to walk by this simple faith, instead of always weighing and measuring visible events, the more competent will they prove to judge correctly of the difficult questions which arise out of the relation of Church and State. As it is, we have to allow for the effect both of their habits of calculation, and of such natural misgivings as we have been describing, and therefore may with less presumption question the full accuracy of some of their views.

We have observed already that the plan of Mr. Gladstone's work did not allow him to dwell much on the scriptural part of the argument, which is the more to be regretted, as all modern views on the subject, and his own among the rest, have the disadvantage of an *ex post facto* law: it is too manifest that they are constructed with an eye to particular cases, and thus they often fail in pro-



curing conviction, even where little or nothing can be said against their truth. The theories, for example, of Hooker, Warburton, Chalmers, perhaps also those of the ultramontane Romanists, are each in turn so nicely adapted to the very state of things in which the writers found themselves placed, that we feel as we examine them somewhat of the same kind of suspicion, as when a disputed will or other document coincides too exactly with the interests of the witnesses who produce it. If a theory can be found antecedent to all experience, it will, by its very date, be free from surmises of this sort: and as we have hinted, such a theory is found in Scripture. It is contained in Isaiah's analogy of the nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers; which, according to the ineffable fulness of Scripture, will be found in its brevity and simplicity, (would men only work it out in good faith), equivalent to a whole code of canon laws for the adjustment of relations often found so intricate.

Some perhaps will think it strange to be referred thus to the Old Testament and to a single text there for an evangelical law of such great practical import. But they may consider that since it was not intended that the Church should, at her first beginning, enter into relations with any state; since that whole order of things was to be but a later developement of something in her original constitution: any rules expressly concerning it could only be prophetic, and the natural place to look for them would be in those portions of the prophetic scriptures, which the Church, from the beginning, knew to have reference to her own later times. Nor would it be hard to find other usages and rules, on which the same remark might be made, viz. that they are developements of something in the original system, for which at first there was no occasion, and accordingly that for the scriptural sanctions of them we have to look in the prophetic and typical Scriptures, rather than in the New Testament itself. Such for example is the penitential discipline of the Church: her earlier and purer times had comparatively little occasion for it; and when it became settled, it was in great measure the developement of precedents and hints from the Jewish history, and the lessons of mortification and penitence in the Psalms and Prophets. Such again is the splendour of churches and church ornaments: the days of our first poverty of course knew it not, but when it came, it found its warrant in the records of Moses, David and Solomon. No prejudice, therefore, need lie against a similar mode of deducing the obligation of the State to establish the Church.

If any one ask, of what particular article or fundamental rule of God's kingdom this theory of Church and State is a developement

ment, we should answer, of the Holy Catholic Church; *i. e.* of the continued presence and manifestation of Jesus Christ in the world, through the medium of that society which is called His mystical body. The Church is the spouse of Christ, and the mother of His family; and these passages of Isaiah declare what is the especial office of kings and queens in that family; how they in particular stand related to the Church. They are to be her nursing fathers and mothers; *i. e.* as Leslie has explained at large, (and to him we must refer for a thorough and most satisfactory elucidation of the passages), they are among her servants and attendants, trusted by Almighty God with the nourishment of her children; with the training of them, and bearing them safe in their arms. The phrase has acquired a trite and almost a proverbial use, in a very different sense: as though the Church were a helpless infant in the arms of some Defender of the Faith: but the context puts the true force of the image out of question. "Thus saith the Lord GOD, Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people; and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord; for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me." Isaiah, xlix. 22, 23. Again, in ch. lx. 4, "Thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters *shall be nursed* at thy side." If in another verse we find, "Thou shalt *suck the milk* of the Gentiles, and thou *shalt suck the breast of kings*;" this cannot be so pressed as to denote childish dependence and obedience, since in the very same prophecy, as well as in the former one, apparently parallel to it, the expressions of humiliation, nay subjection to the Church, on the part of the potentates of the earth, are so very full and unequivocal. "The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and *their kings shall minister unto thee*." "Thy gates shall be open continually, they shall not be shut day nor night, that men may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, *and that their kings may be brought. For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish: yea those nations shall be utterly wasted*." These words throw light on one of the distinctive titles given to Jesus Christ in the Apocalypse: "Prince of the Kings of the Earth:" they point out in what sense the *kingdoms of this world* were to become the *kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ*; and how "the kings of this world" were to "bring their honour and glory into the Holy Jerusalem." And that all this was not so much a prediction as a promulgation of God's will on the subject, is proved unquestionably by the

fearful sanction annexed: perishing and utter wasting to the nation and kingdom that will not serve Zion.

Thus are kings and governors representatives of Jesus Christ, in His protecting particular Providence, whereby He educates those who shall be heirs of salvation: that Providence of which Moses, who "was king in Jeshurun," was a type, when he had to bear God's people, "as a nursing father beareth a sucking child;" which he describes in its application to the whole people, where he says, "The Eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms:" and in its application to Benjamin individually, (*i. e.* to the energetic self-renouncing champions of the Church, such as St. Paul, of whom Benjamin was the appointed image,) in the last clause of that highly descriptive verse, "The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by, (literally, *upon*,) Him, and the Lord shall cover, wrap him up in His garment, and he shall dwell between His shoulders." There cannot be an exacter—if it were uninspired we should add, a sweeter and more engaging—description of a foster-father bearing a young child: and this, we have reason to believe, is the appropriate scriptural image—the sacramental sign, as antiquity would have esteemed it,—of the care due from kings and governors to the children of the Church.\*

We will not give way to the thoughts which instinctively arise, on comparing such a description with certain late proceedings in the matter of Christian Education: it is pleasanter and better to turn back the mind's-eye towards the days when the kings and rulers of the world first began to appreciate this highest part of their calling. St. Paul had taught Christians, from the first, that even heathen princes were *λαϊτουργοί*, "ministers of God to His people for good:" and when they came themselves to be Christians, it never entered their minds that the true and eternal good was the one interest of their people with which they were never to busy themselves. On the contrary, the very word *λαϊτουργός* suggested to them, as the word minister naturally might to us, the notion of their being, though of course not literally as priests, yet in some analogous way, called to wait on God in His Church: and the prophet's word, "nursing fathers," would at once inform them what that office was. They would well understand that in spiritual matters they were to execute the laws of Christ's Church, not impose laws upon her: except it be the office of a nurse to give directions to a parent, and not rather receive instructions how the child ought to be managed. The strength of this impression on their minds will account for such anecdotes as that of Constantine refusing to take his seat at the council of Nice until he was requested by the bishops to do so; and again declining to receive

\* Deut. 33, 5; Num. 11, 12; Deut. 33, 27, 12.

an appeal when tendered by Donatists in an ecclesiastical cause; and also for that remarkable expression, so different from the tone encouraged by the modern doctrine of legal supremacy, in his promulgation of the Nicene Decrees: "By the suggestion of God, I called together to Nice the greater part of the Bishops, with whom *as one of you, I your fellow-servant*," the fellow-servant of ordinary laymen, "*and rejoicing above measure so to be*, did myself undertake the task of examining the truth." These and the other incidents of the same æra, commonly appealed to by writers on this subject: such as Hosius\* and St. Hilary's demurring to the sentence of Constantius, St. Ambrose's resistance to Valentinian and his officers and excommunication of Theodosius, St. Basil's refusal to alter the church formularies, though it might bring Valens into church communion; and still more than the incidents themselves, the manner in which such sacerdotal boldness was received by the several emperors, and the tone in which it is related by contemporary writers, (some of them of the highest authority, St. Athanasius, for instance, and St. Gregory Nazianzen), are sufficient indications, not perhaps of any formal compact, such as some appear to dream of, between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, but of something yet more striking and authoritative; a general consent in the early Christian world, as to the meaning of what Scripture teaches concerning the office of kings in the Church. The notion of nursing fathers—confidential servants entrusted to bring up her children according to her laws—runs through the whole, and accounts for each particular. The voice of the Church was, "We call Christian Emperors happy, if they make their power a handmaid to the majesty of God, for no purpose so much as the propagation of His true religion and worship†." And again: "Whereas it is written, *The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee*; it may be that by kings he means here literally those who are crowned with the highest honours, and sway the sceptre of royalty, who also are ministers (*παρεστῆσαν*) of the Church: *now ministering in this place signifies obedience*."‡ The whole doctrine was, and we believe still is, significantly taught in many parts of the Christian world, by the custom which prevails of the sovereign at solemn coronations wearing a deacon's habit, or part of it, under his robes of state: thereby acknowledging himself a servant of the Church, whose anointing and blessing he has just received, and bound to wait on and guard her bishops and priests, somewhat as a deacon should, in their holy offices; and again, (which is another part of

\* S. Athanas. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. c. 44; S. Hilar. ad Constant. i. 1; S. Ambros. ad Valentinian. Ep. 21; ad Eugen. Ep. 57; ad Theodos. Ep. 51; S. Greg. Naz. Hom. 20, al. 43, ss. 48—51.

† St. Augustin, de Civ. Dei, v. 24.

‡ St. Cyril of Alex. in loc.

the diaconate), to take care that the Church's children generally be duly taught, and warned of their own part in the service.

Let us now try, by this notion of a nurse's duty, certain particulars in our own Church establishment. It is a test which requires no very complex discussion: plain men, even unlearned ones, are in a great measure competent to apply it; and should it unfortunately happen that we are on some matters conducted to a less favourable point of view, by our scriptural argument, than Mr. Gladstone, by his more philosophical and elaborate one, it will be some compensation for the annoyance, if we come to see at all distinctly what are the points in the church polity of our country, for the amendment of which, if we cannot or must not strive, we may at least humble ourselves and pray—an alternative, sometimes perhaps left too much out of sight, when people are descanting on the unpractical nature of such discussions, and the uselessness of dwelling on grievances which one cannot redress.

The matters then which occur to us as likely to be materially modified in our view by the application of this test, are the obvious ones of our Church's *nationality, as affecting its Catholic character*; the *legislative power* as at present exercised, we fear we must say not *by* but *over* it; and its condition in respect of *discipline*. In compliance with the order of Mr. Gladstone's argument we will take the last of the three first.

One would think, if there were any part of a nursing father's duty, in which he was bound more than in another to look strictly to the wishes and directions of the parent, it would be the moral training of the child—all that bears on reward or punishment. Any obstruction, here, to the paternal will, would appear an especially flagrant dereliction of duty. Now is it not notorious, that the ancient discipline of the Church is at present in abeyance in this country; that the reason commonly assigned for this is the interference of the laws of the land, which under pretence of certain civil results of excommunication, virtually wrest the command of the keys of God's kingdom out of those hands to which our Lord committed them; and that this state of things is contrary, not only to the rule and order of the ancient Church, but to the declared will and desire of the present, which enjoins all her ministers annually and solemnly to declare, that "the restoration of the said discipline is much to be wished?" a sufficiently distinct intimation, surely, on the part of the parent, in what the nursing mother's duty consists. And yet what but the reluctance of the State hinders the accomplishment of this earnest wish? What other will but hers can possibly stand in the Church's way, and thwart her desire, so emphatically and unequivocally expressed? For as to mere popular feeling, however necessary to

be consulted, when state purposes are taken into account, it is not to be supposed that the Church, left to herself, would allow any such consideration to avail against the plain institution of Christ, recognized by herself in all ages.

But if any one really doubt the mind of the State on this subject, let him only put the case to himself, of an uncompromising revival of discipline in any diocese; is it not quite certain, that if the present Statute Book were found insufficient, new and more stringent measures would presently be invented, to check such an effort of priestcraft, and intrusion on liberty?

We are not however without our fears that what we are now deprecating may seem to Mr. Gladstone one of the felicitous results of our present position: at least there are in his third chapter many expressions which at first sight appear somewhat at variance with the wish recorded in the Communion Service:—

“Certainly her faithful members must be content to stand side by side with many who care little for religion; but the promises of Christ may secure them from the danger of contagion; and they may also acquire from their position a livelier remembrance of that lesson, that we may not say one to another, Stand by, for I am holier than thou. I say, the promises of Christ: for the establishment does but fulfil His prophetic declarations, in not attempting any universal separation of the tares from the wheat; of the good fish from the bad: content with the laws of her mixed condition upon earth, emulous of the example of her Lord, who ate with publicans and sinners, and generous as her heavenly Father, who sends rain and light upon the just and the unjust, rendering benefit, but not therefore receiving pollution.”—c. iii. 26.

And again:—

“We do not anticipate any evil from that contact which may occur in the discharge of duty; and there is in view the animating prospect of thus arousing many a dormant spirit unto holiness, and rescuing many a tender lamb of the Redeemer from the fangs of the roaring lion.”—§ 29.

Yet once more:—

“We are prepared, then, to assert it generally of a national Church, that it brings human and secondary motives to bear upon mankind in favour of religion, with a power greater than that which would belong to it, *ceteris paribus*, when unestablished, because ordinarily it would not occupy the same station in public estimation. The fashion which might, in a wealthy and luxurious country, choose to reject attendance at church, is enlisted in its favour. A narrow and feeble provision, no doubt; but we must not despise the day of small things.”—§ 33.

It is not now, be it observed, from abstract views or feelings on the comparative excellence of this or that motive, that we feel inclined to deprecate statements such as these, but we wish it to

be well considered, how they appear when placed side by side with certain clear injunctions of our Saviour, as explained by the recorded practice of his Apostles. For example, when we read among the recommendations of an Establishment, that "the fashion, which might, in a wealthy and luxurious country, choose to reject attendance at church, is enlisted in its favour:" it occurs, whether there be not some little forgetfulness of the caution against "casting pearls before swine." And how would it sound to say, "Her faithful members must be content to stand side by side with many who care little for religion?" immediately after the reading of the Apostolical Canon, 1 Cor. v. 11. "I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner: with such an one no not to eat."

We are, we confess, a little jealous of the seeming accordance of some of Mr. Gladstone's arguments, on this part of his subject, with the opinions attributed to the late Mr. Knox, who is reported to have maintained "that the want of discipline so much complained of was one of the happy features of our Establishment:"\* and to have praised it for diffusing universally a low form of religion. Mr. Knox's authority was deservedly great on many points, but in matters where primitive antiquity has a right to be paramount, we can hardly consider him a safe guide, considering that he openly avows a sort of Eclecticisim, quite inconsistent with implicit submission to the Holy Catholic Church. "Being bound to nothing," he says,† "I seem to myself to have access to the spirit of every thing. Let it not appear arrogant in me simply to say, that it is as if I saw from a high ground variously fenced-in paths in a valley below, where safety is secured, and guidance obtained, at the expense of confinement and coercion in various ways: in all which, Divine Providence seems most wisely to have consulted the diversified exigencies of weak mortals . . . Now, among these fenced-in paths, that formed by John Wesley interests me peculiarly, &c."

It is no wonder that with this sort of notion, looking on the road of Primitive Christianity as only one among many which led in their time and order to the same point, Mr. Knox should have felt himself free to rejoice, as things are, in the cessation of all church discipline. But Mr. Gladstone has other thoughts of antiquity. Since, however, some of his phraseology may appear to countenance the lax opinion alluded to, it may be well to point out that his own argument in defence of an Establishment does by no means involve any necessity for depriving that Establishment

\* Introd. to Burnet's *Lives and Characters*, edited by Bp. Jebb, p. xxxiv. xxxv.

† *Remains*, vol. i. 74.

of discipline. He says in effect, "We must have some security for the truth being presented to all, even to those who will profit but little by it: and to secure this, which an establishment does, we must be content to have all sorts of people included in the visible Church." Granted: but it does not follow that all should stand side by side in that Church. To be a subject of excommunication, a man must be of the Church: and excommunication itself, as Hooker has observed, does not so entirely shut a person out as that he shall be thenceforth excluded from the influence of the body. We may be within or around the Holy Place, though the stations of the penitents as compared with the communicants, and of the various orders of the penitents one among another, be ever so religiously observed. It was so in the time of St. Austin and St. Chrysostom; it is or was so, to a considerable extent, of later years, in the Kirk of Scotland; yet in both cases the system had the countenance of the State. National establishments, therefore, need not exclude discipline: and if ours do so, the fault must be somewhere else, and not in the mere circumstance of its nationality.

At the same time we cannot but apprehend, indeed Mr. Gladstone himself seems to be aware, that there is no knowing how much of the alleged effect of the Establishment in bringing home the Church to every one may in fact be due to the catholicity or the Church. All that is said about not neglecting any, evidently belongs to her as well when separate as established: her discipline, in one sense so exclusive, is in another the most comprehensive possible; the difference to her, therefore, between separation and establishment, is reduced to considerations merely temporal; protection, countenance, pecuniary resources; which to reject, as long as they can be innocently accepted, would of course be abusing a talent, and incurring a judgment; but when the question lies between such things on the one hand, and but a probable breach of God's commands, or maiming of His work, on the other, to state what would be the choice of faith, seems a mere truism in Christian casuistry, such as one is almost ashamed to have to set down in words. The Lord's hand is not so shortened.

And on this subject we cannot but regret to find high authority lending itself to the common, but as we think, gratuitous assertion, that—

"Christianity arrived at the summits of society by the miraculous impulses of its original propagation, whose vibrations had been measured, no doubt, with reference to the space they were to traverse, and did not exhaust themselves till they had reached the farthest point to which they were destined."—Ch. ii. § 40.



Where, we would ask, is the warrant for this saying? What Scripture, what Catholic tradition, enables us so to sound the exact depth of the cloud of glorious promises which envelopes the Church? The prophetic word is, "*your iniquities* have separated between you and your God, and *your sins* have hid His face from you, that he will not hear." Let this barrier be removed, let the spirit of martyrdom, the power of Christian self-denial, leaven the whole Church as in the first days; and it is according to God's graciousness, and the wording of His promises, to believe that such miraculous aid as may be needful for her thoroughly fulfilling her office of witness, will not be withheld from her; whether established as in Augustin's time, or persecuted as in Cyprian's, "her sound will go out into all lands, and her words unto the ends of the world;" and in every town in every land, all that pass along the streets will hear by her the voice of Wisdom, and, listen they or forbear, will know that there hath been a prophet among them.

But observe how closely her hope of success in either state is connected with our denying ourselves, and embracing the Cross. Over and above all mysterious ways, in which for aught we know such causes may work such effects, a glance only at the machinery, by which she actually prevailed in former days, is sufficient to show this. When open persecution and martyrdom ceased, voluntary poverty, retirement, and mortification, "the philosophy of the solitaires," as St. Chrysostom delights to call it, which had flourished all along, but had been comparatively obscured by the glories of actual warfare, were brought forward in their power: and by them, it should seem, as much at least as by any direct imperial aid, were the truths and duties of orthodox Christianity propagated among the "dense masses" of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and other such cities. As if on purpose to draw men's attention to this, it was they, the solitaires, whose faithful warnings and sufferings, under the direction of such champions as Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, kept the stream of piety clear, among the body of the people, through more than one heretical and persecuting reign. Nor shall we have any right to despair of the full declaration of the Gospel by the Church to every creature in the vast wildernesses of London and our own manufacturing districts, until a like experiment shall have been tried here, with or without State countenance, and shall have proved ineffectual.

But the voluntary method, it is argued, brings the Church into a worse dependence than that on the State; "it tends to give a preponderating influence, in determining the doctrine which shall be taught, to the less qualified class:"\* and therefore is ill

\* Ch. 3, 44.

fitted to ensure either permanency of sound doctrine, or acceptance of discipline, which must be often unpalatable.

We ask *which* voluntary method? for this matter is often unfairly argued, as if in the nature of things, and the experience of the Church, no other could be found, than that which prevails among most of our dissenters, Romish as well as Protestant; the method, namely, of making collections for each teacher among his own flock: whereas it is well known that the system of the early Church, voluntary as of course it was, threw no such snare in the way of individual ministers, inasmuch as the whole oblations of the faithful were cast into one sum, whereof the bishop was steward, and at his discretion the portions of the several priests and other ministers were assigned monthly.\* In our own times the Churches in Canada and elsewhere, so far as they are supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and also the Wesleyan Methodists, may be cited as exemplifying (more or less imperfectly, it is true,) this ancient arrangement: so ancient, that we may without much hesitation refer its origin to the Mother Church of all Christendom, and to the Apostle's distribution of the gifts which were laid in such abundance at their feet.

But, it may be said, even this method affords but incomplete protection. It exempts indeed each particular minister from suffering in his estate by the caprice or personal feeling of his flock: but it leaves the Church, as a body, subject to the shifting taste of the community, and what may be called the spirit of the times: whereas the terms of an ecclesiastical endowment, once fixed by law, are comparatively permanent. And undoubtedly, *ceteris paribus*, such endowment is desirable: but supposing it to fail, through no fault of the Church, there yet remains a resource for the independence of her ministers, and consequent permanency of her doctrine: one which Mr. Gladstone himself has incidentally referred to. He asks—

“Who does not see that the Apostle himself, in writing to his converts that he has laboured for his own support, because he would not be chargeable unto any of them, affords an express recognition of that truth for which we here contend? namely, that when the Christian flock are placed habitually in the position of paymasters, notions of pride and self-sufficiency will infallibly associate themselves with that function, and men will claim the right to determine upon the doctrine, for whose inculcation they are continually reminded that they supply the pecuniary means?”—ch. iii. 43.

The statement, by the way, is perhaps a little too strong: if

\* See Bingham, b. v. ch. 4. § 2, 3; and St. Cyprian, as quoted by him.

the pride and self-sufficiency spoken of were "infallible" results of the ancient voluntary system, St. Paul would scarce have sanctioned it so cordially as he did in the case of the churches of Macedonia; and he would have said more than he has done, by way of recommending his own more common practice to the imitation of bishops and priests in general. But however he clearly indicates a resource, supposing both endowment and voluntary bounty clogged with conditions, virtual or express, such as Christ's servants could not accept. They may *labour, working with their own hands*: nor need this be any degradation or disparagement to the ministry, provided, what is all along supposed, that the ancient discipline were kept up, to meet this among other emergencies, for which it was at the beginning adopted. And as to the continuance of good learning among the clergy: there have been before now fraternities of devoted persons not only maintaining themselves in that way, but earning so much over and above, as enabled some of them at least to find leisure, both for their own studies and for the training of candidates for the ministry.

This, it will be said, is all Utopian: but it is surely within the limits of possibility, and it is enough for our present purpose, if the resource we point out be as likely to succeed, as the need for it to arise: that need being, as we have seen, the failure of endowments and the refusal of voluntary aid except on base conditions.

One word more on the question of Discipline, from which we have too far digressed: it will have been seen that Mr. Gladstone\* quotes some of our Lord's parables, such as that of the Tares, and of the Net cast into the Sea; and also the example of our Lord in eating with publicans and sinners; the dispensation also of Almighty God, in sending rain on the just and on the unjust; and the evil mark set on those who say, "Stand off, for I am holier than thou." Here we seem again to perceive the sinister influence of Mr. Knox's reasonings: for these are the very texts, which persons of his way of thinking are apt to allege against all discipline whatsoever.

But whether they have any such force may well be doubted; considering first of all, that they cannot mean any thing inconsistent with the other and plainer texts, which have been already produced in favour of discipline, and with the practice of the Church ensuing. No reason can be given why the Parable of the Tares, for example, should be understood as prohibiting the separation wished for by our Church, which will not make out that it equally

\* Ch. iii. § 26.

tells against all separation from notorious sinners, and therefore against St. Paul's canon, "With such an one no not to eat." Nor do we see that such an interpretation of it can be any how reconciled with the authoritative words, "Whose sins ye retain, they are retained." "Retaining of sins" can hardly be imagined without some sort of visible distinction, such as shall prevent persons lying under that sentence from standing exactly "side by side" with those whose sins are remitted. We must therefore look out for some other interpretation, and we have not far to seek: the early expositors will teach us with one voice, that this portion of the parable is directed not against that godly discipline, concerning which the Church prays continually, with Bishop Wilson, that it may be "restored and countenanced," but against that impatient feeling, so natural even to the best of uninstructed men, which would lead them, as St. Cyprian, alluding to this parable, expresses it,\* "to claim to themselves what the Father hath reserved to the Son; to imagine themselves already capable of taking fan in hand and purging the floor, or of separating all the tares from the wheat by their human judgment;" an error which uncorrected tends either to schism or persecution; and accordingly, as St. Augustin made large use of this parable against the Puritanism, if so one may describe it, of the Donatists, so St. Chrysostom† distinctly explains it as forbidding to persecute heretics, yet leaving full power to correct them in the way of discipline. "By the saying, Lest you root up also the wheat with them, what else can He mean but this: that if you were to take arms and slaughter the heretics, many of the Saints too must of necessity fall with them; or, that of the tares themselves many in all likelihood will change and become wheat? You see then, if you are too hasty in uprooting, you damage that which is to be wheat, destroying those who may perchance alter and improve. The checking then of heretics, and stopping their mouths, the depriving them of power to speak openly, and dissolving their assemblies and leagues, He forbids not, but the killing and slaughtering them. St. Chrysostom points out, it will be perceived, a significant circumstance in the parable, of itself sufficient to keep us from applying it to check discipline: viz. the reason alleged for not then gathering the tares; "lest ye root up also the wheat with them;" "you are not yet competent judges, which is or will be wheat, and which are mere tares:" whereas all men surely are competent judges, whether or no their neighbour is openly living in any of those ways, which St. Paul says should exclude him from our company.

\* Ep. 54, Ed. Fell.

† In loco.

With regard both to this parable, and to the other cited by Mr. Gladstone, of the good fish not to be separated from the bad, is there not some appearance of a confusion between precept, rightly so called, and prophecy? Our Lord says, the good and the bad must go on together for a time, but He does not say that it was His work or will, any further than as He permits it; any otherwise than as when He says, that the love of the greater part must wax cold, and that there must be false Christs and false Prophets. As one would not call the fulfilment of such prophecies "His clear intentions," so it may be questioned whether the term be strictly accurate, applied to His intimations of the mixed condition of the Church. It is a serious matter, many times, to confound prediction with precept, and it seems therefore right to note every seeming instance of it. Consider the passage in the 18th of St. Matthew; one of the most peremptory, perhaps, of those intimations. "It is impossible but that τὰ σκάνδαλα, the offences foretold, should come." If our Saviour had stopped there, this also, we suppose, would have been quoted as tending to forbid any judicial strictness in the administration of the Kingdom of Heaven: but it is followed up (and the fact is remarkable), not only by a general "woe" against all by whom the offences come, but also by distinct provisions for the enforcement of that very discipline, which such warnings are supposed to forbid: ending with, "If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."

The case is different, when as in the prophecy on which we have been dwelling so much, of the Nursing Fathers, a sanction is annexed, namely, in the verse, "The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted:" or when from the tone of the prophecy itself, or by comparison with other passages, or in any other way, the Divine approbation is intimated, though but doubtfully.

The mention of the Almighty sending rain upon the just and unjust, and of our Lord Himself eating with publicans and sinners, is not surely much in point, unless it can be shown that granting some benefits necessarily implies reserving none; and that our Lord was in the same relation to those with whom He so condescended as ordinary Christians to an excommunicated person. Observe too, that in the very wording of the law of excommunication the terms "heathen man and publican" are introduced, as if to remind men of these passages, supposed by some inconsistent with that practice, and so to evince, that part of the care and love which is enjoined towards those unhappy persons, consists in treating them with due reserve. Again, the state of mind implied in "Stand off, for I am holier than thou," would

seem less likely to be encouraged by a regular system of authoritative Church censures, which would prescribe for us whom we ought to withdraw from, than by leaving each person to draw the line for himself.

On the whole we greatly wish, that this part of Mr. Gladstone's argument were so expressed, as to give less encouragement to the enemies of Christian discipline. We fear the use which others may make of his statements. It is too true, that Church censures have been practically long disused among us: yet is it something, that the omission is annually lamented in the Prayer Book, and the system recognised in the theory of the ecclesiastical courts. In the effort which is now making to do away, even in respect of delinquent clergy, this last relic of the power of the keys, we see but the natural result of undue concession to the State in former times. We know but too well the order of the destructive process. First, when substantial power is to be surrendered, people are reconciled to it by being told, "it is but an arrangement forced on us for the time: you see we keep the old forms and framework entire, and by and by, should circumstances allow, they may be reanimated." Then, as time rolls on, sober and practical men, men well acquainted with the present Church, and too busy to trouble themselves with obsolete observances, begin to ask, "why retain the shadow when the substance is gone? especially when such scruples are found to stand in the way of real tangible reform." And thus, without deliberate apostacy, we may easily conceive any Church principle whatever completely given up and vanishing from a country in the course of two generations. The reformers of one age contrive to paralyze it, and those of the next think they may as well kill it out of the way. Were such a thing to happen in respect of so sacred a matter as the judicial prerogative of Bishops, it would be a great grief for sincere venerator of the Church, like Mr. Gladstone, to find that they had been unwittingly co-operating in it.

This topic naturally conducts us to the second head, on which, as we think, the excellent author's "wish" has been too clearly "father to his thoughts." How does the present state of the Crown's legislative supremacy in England accord with the prophetic idea of the regal office in the Church? Those who were to sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel; those who were sent by our Lord, as His Father sent Him; those without whom St. Ignatius thought "nothing ought to be done in the Church;" and by whom, according to St. Cyprian, "every act of the Church was to be guided, and that by a Divine Law;" are not even allowed to be judges how many of their own order the necessities of their own Church require. The Irish Church Bill of 1833, to which in

particular we refer, has been declared on high authority\* to be binding on the consciences of Anglican Clergymen, bishops as well as others, by virtue of the oath taken at ordination, that we will administer "the discipline of Christ as this Church and Realm hath received the same." That is, it is consistent with the discipline of Christ, as received in this Church and Realm,—it is one of our constitutional laws,—that bishopricks may be suppressed to any extent, by the sovereign, at the request of a body of laymen, any number of whom may be heretics, contrary to the express protest of the episcopal body. For let it be well understood, that this is the ground upon which the invalidity of that bill, as an ecclesiastical law, was maintained at the time by certain churchmen; viz. the public dissent of those, to whom by the law of Jesus Christ, and as they flattered themselves, by the law of the English Church also, an indispensable authority in all such matters was committed. They imagined therefore, that former unions of dioceses, to which apparently the bishops were consenting, formed no precedent for Lord Stanley's bill, in which the same thing was done in spite of their open and solemn protest. It seems we were mistaken; and if the state of parties should at any time make it expedient to carry the same system a little further;—to suppress, for example, the whole episcopate, with the exception of the four archbishops, or even to leave but one bishop for each of the islands:—whatever may be said against it on the score of piety or public interest, it would not be contrary to Christ's discipline as England has received it, and would be binding therefore on all our consciences, though each and all of our spiritual Fathers had lifted his voice ever so loudly against it. They might remonstrate, but if they disobeyed,—if they took measures for continuing but one of the condemned sees,—they would, on this construction, be disloyal before God, and perjured.

When such is the view taken, in such high quarters, of the actual relation of the Church to the State among us, no wonder if some misgiving arise in those who have learned that the Apostles were to represent Christ in His kingly, as well as His sacerdotal and prophetic offices. They find little resemblance between the attitude of a sovereign and parliament enforcing such laws, and that in which they should be found, if they would fulfil the decree of Him by whom kings reign. It seems to them strange that it should be part of a Nursing Father's prerogative, to cast down at will the thrones of those whom the father has ordained to govern the whole family. In short they cannot get it out of their minds, that an alliance on such terms involves a great sin, not only on the part of the State enforcing, but also on the part of

\* By the late Bishop of Ferns, in his Letter to his Clergy.—Brit. Mag. v. 742.

the Church consenting to it; and they could have wished that the State rather had rebelled alone, by casting off the Church for a time, than that our forefathers had yielded (*if they did really yield*) to an arrangement so plainly contrary to the word of God.

Nor does it tend greatly to assuage their misgivings, when they reflect on that other obvious instance of inroad by our Nursing Fathers, the nomination of the Successors of the Apostles exclusively by the Crown, and enforcement of the same by outlawry, confiscation, and imprisonment. They can understand well enough how Constantius, Julian, or Valens, might desire to force bishops on unwilling electors and consecrators; but they cannot conceive an Ambrose or a Basil, heartily allowing the claim, and maintaining it as part of that discipline of Christ, which every priest in His Church is pledged to maintain. Our Lord called whom He would, and they came unto Him, to be ordained, and as He was sent, so were his Apostles and their successors: could He mean them to have no voice at all—not even a veto—in the designation of those whom they should consecrate?

But this whole topic has been so fully and elaborately argued, that it is unnecessary to do more than just mention it, as completing the view of the Church's condition in respect of legislative power. First, those from whom alone her spiritual laws should emanate, are nominated by a power which may be, and probably for a long time will be, hostile to her rights: next, not even these are allowed so much as an effective protest on matters the most vital to the due execution of their trust.

But it is said, anomalous as all this sounds, and in some respects even profane, yet the system has worked well, and experience happily answers the objections which theory, except by abandoning the principles of the ancient Church, has never yet been able to deal with. This seems to be the ground on which Mr. Gladstone falls back with most confidence.

“The government of England has ever been distinguished in civil matters, less by accuracy of adhesion to any dogmatic and determinate theory, than by the skilful use of natural influences, and a general healthiness of tone and harmony of operation, resulting from a happy and providential fusion of elements, rather than from deliberately advised intention. If this has been the case in civil matters; if our constitution, as viewed by the crude speculatist, consist of a mass of anomalies, threatening perpetual contradiction and collision; if it has wrought rather by provision for the avoidance of such evils than for their subsequent remedy; so also it has been with the Church, whose relations with the State had for many years proceeded rather upon a mutually friendly understanding, than upon precise definitions of rights; and therefore we



cannot expect to exhibit a theory which will bear throughout a critical analysis, in this more than in any other department of our national government."—C. iv. s. 15.

Most true; no considerate reader of our history but must humbly and thankfully confess, that we have been favoured in this, as in other respects, far beyond expectation or desert; yet Mr. Gladstone himself allows that it has all depended on a mutual friendly understanding with the State; and if that be gone, or fast going, the anomalies of course assume a more practical form, and must and will be more thought of than in times of more harmony.

What is more, this answer is irrelevant to the main objection. It is like what is urged in behalf of Presbyterianism in Scotland: "Do you not see how well it all works? it has the blessing of God upon it, and cannot therefore be very wrong." This is arguing by sight, and not by faith. The punishment, for aught we know, may be only deferred; and perhaps, if we looked calmly and deeply, we should detect, in both cases, evident symptoms of mischief, bearing more or less the aspect of judicial inflictions, penal consequences of the surrender of the Church's rights. The only sufficient defence of the arrangements in question, would be to reconcile them, or at least make it doubtful whether they could not be reconciled, with Scripture and the voice of the early Universal Church. No reasoning on apparent results can ever answer that purpose.

It is said again, the supremacy of the State "does not destroy the independence of the Church, because there always remains the remedy of putting an end to the connection."

"The alliance, then, is one *durante bene placito* of both the contracting parties. And if the conscience of the Church of England should, by its constituted rulers, require any law, or any meeting to make laws, as essential to its well-being, and such law, or the license of such meeting, should be permanently refused, it would then be her duty to resign her civil privileges and act in her free spiritual capacity; a contingency as improbable, we trust, as it would be deplorable, but one which, opening this extreme remedy, testifies to the real, though dormant and reserved, independence of the Church."—C. iv. s. 3, and s. 9.

Now, we confess ourselves unable to comprehend this line of argument. In the first place, if the English Church is really in such a position with regard to the State, as to have given up, though but for a time, certain inalienable privileges, vested in her by our Lord Himself, which, according to the statement of Bishop Elrington and others, we have reason to think is the case, then is she *pro tanto* in a state of sin, and has reason to feel uneasy and be afraid of God's judgments.

Again, in what sense can it be said that the Church of England retains in her power the remedy of putting an end to the connection? It may be said in the same sense, as we might affirm of a man forcibly detained on ship board, that he has always in his power the remedy of jumping overboard. It cannot be said in the same sense, as of two partners in a mercantile transaction, that either of them when he pleases may dissolve the partnership. At least, we should be much obliged to any lawyer who would point out to us the constitutional process, by which the Church of England might assert her independence, only giving up her temporal advantages, and not incurring the penalties of premunire, *except she could obtain the consent of the civil government*. Until this be made out, it really appears to us that the remedy which she is here stated to have reserved, is one which no power on earth could have deprived her of; it is just the martyr's and confessor's remedy, leave to suffer, when in conscience she dares not obey.

At the risk of seeming both tedious and quarrelsome, we will add a few remarks on one more head, which may well make an English Churchman anxious, on comparing what he reads of with what he sees. We allude to a feeling already mentioned, the excess of our Church's nationality; the prevalence in it of what perhaps may be called not unfitly a sort of *ultra-Anglican* spirit. Mr. Gladstone, in his valuable chapters on the Abuse of Private Judgment and on Toleration, brings out in a way to us both original and convincing, the fact that Nationality was the leading principle of the English Reformation. That movement, he says, "was the establishment of a national exemption from external restraint in matters of religion. The question between the nation, either through its Church or its State, and the individual," *i. e.* the question of toleration, "was of subsequent growth."—c. v. 61 . . . . "The first assertion of religious liberty was for the nation, as against what lay beyond the nation, and not for the private individual, as against all but himself. And the doctrine grew imperceptibly by unconscious and progressive deflections from the rule of arbitrary power."—ib. 62. The preamble of 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12, which act abolishes the papal supremacy, declares that the Spirituality of the realm of England,

"usually called the English Church, hath always been thought, and is also at this hour sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties, as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain."

"We have here a clear view of the notion under which separation took place. The nation of England said: We are an organized and in-

tegral whole, both in secular and spiritual matters, capable of self-government and self-direction.”—§ 63, 64.

“That the question of the English Reformation was eminently and specially national; that it was raised as between this island of the free on the one hand, and an ‘Italian priest’ on the other, is a remarkable truth, which derives equally remarkable illustrations from our history. The main subject of contention between the State and the Romanists, or recusants as they were called, was not their adhesion to this or that popish doctrine, but their acknowledgment of an unnational and anti-national head. To meet this case the oath of supremacy was framed.”

Nor was this merely the legal and abstract view of the transaction; there are places in Shakespeare, to go no further, which indicate unequivocally the popular feeling to have been the same.

“What earthly name to interrogatories  
Can task the free breath of a sacred king?  
Thou canst not, Cardinal, devise a name  
So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous,  
To charge me to an answer, as the pope.  
Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England  
Add thus much more—That no Italian priest  
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions:  
But as we under Heaven are supreme head,  
So, under him, that great supremacy,  
Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,  
Without the assistance of a mortal hand;  
So tell the pope; all reverence set apart,  
To him, and his usurped authority.”—*K. John*, iii. 1.

And again,

“Though you, and all the kings of Christendom,  
Are led so grossly by this meddling priest,  
Dreading the curse that money may bring out;”

\* \* \* \* \*

“Yet I, alone, alone do me oppose  
Against the pope, and count his friends my foes.”

Now it will hardly be denied that some of the above expressions, to an ear versed in the old ecclesiastical language, carry rather an unprimitive, uncatholic sound; they savour a little of the *fastus occidentaliū*, the complaint of which is as old as St. Basil. The provocation from Rome was doubtless great; but it is one of the miserable consequences of pride and usurpation, to make those who resist them proud, and usurpers in their turn: and those who reflect on the strict bond of union, which by the law of Christ subsists among all churches everywhere, will find

perhaps something to scruple at in a claim by any one national Church to be considered "an integral whole in spiritual matters," and to exclude "the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons to determine any doubts." In fact, this exclusiveness has been virtually disavowed by those Anglicans, who from time to time have appealed, as Cranmer and Bramhall, to a lawful general council, when such may be had; yet the spirit of it undoubtedly leavens our Church, in some respects with good effect, but in others more entirely than might be wished. We are apt to think more of our nurse than of our mother, and, as might be expected from our insular temper, to be more frightened by the word *un-English*, than by the words sectarian and uncatholic. If it were not for some feeling of this kind, could we have endured to exclude so long from our altars the Bishops and Priests of America and Scotland? Should we not ere now have fallen on some arrangement, whereby all invidious distinctions between their ordinations and ours might be done away? Would those unprohibited ceremonies, such as turning to the east, whereby we may express our desire to be in more perfect communion with the whole Church, excite so much displeasure and suspicion as they do? Would not our missionaries and travellers, and the societies which authorize them, be a little more scrupulous of disquieting foreign Churches, such as the Greek and Abyssinian, by openly slighting their usages, and setting up our own worship as in opposition to theirs? It has been well for England, no doubt, that this sort of stubborn nationality has kept us, as in the days of Edward VI., from the too close intercourse which many desired with foreign schismatical bodies; but the primitive hatred of separation would as effectually have done that, as it would have retained us in communion, or at least in the wish for communion, with all who have not lost the essence of the Church, and of faith. It is curious, and not unimportant, to observe, how this same English self-will extends itself into the detail of our Church arrangements, interfering not a little with reverence, order, and obedience. In such matters, for example, as where we are to be placed in church, and whether we shall sit, stand, or kneel, and whether we will make any responses, and when; and in all our demeanour as subjects of pastoral care, many of us seem anxious to prove ourselves

"penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."

and the feeling appears to be respected and encouraged, as English, sound and manly, by persons who would surely find something to deprecate in it, had they not been accustomed to

take their own standard too partially from the 16th century. When one considers on the one hand, the mysterious intenseness of our Lord's Prayer for the unity of his whole Church, and on the other, the present miserable state of Christendom, for want of that unity; when one looks back to the days of general councils, and of letters commendatory between Church and Church, and recollects that they were contemporaneous with the days of uninterrupted order and Catholic consent; our complete separation from other churches will appear no slight drawback on the benefit we have gained by asserting ourselves an "island of the free;" nor will any usage, prejudice or enactment, appear a trifling evil, which tends to that sort of sullen, moody independence.

Reverting then to the divinely suggested standard for adjusting the relation of the State to the Church, it would seem that the Nursing Fathers in God's household cannot in faithfulness either neglect the laws which He has set for the correction of His erring children, or take into their own hands the regulation of the whole family, or separate at their will between the portions of it, when He has ordained that all should live in mutual intercourse; that under all these heads, the State in England is clearly in sin; and that it is at least doubtful how far the Church has made herself a party to that sin. What then follows? are we to separate from her? to become Romanists, or found a new sect? By no means; and for this plain reason, that she is still the Church, the true mystical Body of Jesus Christ, having His commission, His word, and His sacraments, from whom it is unlawful to separate in any case, even though she exacted unlawful terms of communion: we should then only have to bear her censures patiently: and as yet (we cannot be too thankful for it) she does not exact unlawful terms of communion; none of her members are obliged in any way to assent, either to the suppression of discipline, or to the State usurpations of legislative power, or to the virtual excommunication, in part, of the foreign Churches. If indeed we were forced to accept Bishop Elrington's interpretation of the clause in the ordination service; if we believed that a Priest's adherence to "the discipline of Christ as this Church and realm hath received the same," implied the validity of such laws as the Irish Church Bill, passed as it was; then indeed we should think it impossible to be in other than lay communion with the Church in England: but we do not so construe that engagement: we consider that it pledges us to the formularies of the Church, not to the usurpations of the State: and thus convinced, though we thought even more deeply and positively than we do of the Church's part in the transgressions above enumerated, it would not in the least tend to drive us from her communion. It is an

old canon, and settled long ago by the whole Church against the Donatists, that no amount of faultiness in Church governors can make separation cease to be schism. Not to dwell on the argument, so largely unfolded by Mr. Palmer and others, which appears a decisive one, certainly, as against Romanists, that if unscriptural concession in this kind unchurches a community, the Roman Church herself has strayed out of Christ's pale, since no intrusion of the civil power in England can be named, but it may find its parallel in some country of the Roman obedience, and that with formal sanction of papal authority.

What then, it may be inquired, is the use of stirring topics so delicate at all? Is it not an unpractical, gratuitous agitating of consciences? In the first place, there is the great duty of warning and protest, of which our Church herself sets us an example, in the matter of discipline, yearly in the commination service. And may we not venture to expound the second paragraph of the 37th Article as a similar protest against other usurpations of Church authority by the civil power? Be that as it may, the ministers of the Church Catholic, which is the manifestation of the Judge's presence, are bound to denounce all that He will then condemn, whether in individual or corporate members of His body: and it would indeed be an intolerable consequence of our establishment, if it forbade the watchman's putting the trumpet to his mouth.

Again, there is the duty of prayer and intercession, for the due performance of which it is most desirable that we should have, even as private Christians, tolerably correct views of our position as a Church. The great lights of our own Church, the Andrewses, the Wilsons, the Leslies, and the Taylors, have left us models of assiduous prayer on these very subjects: as that sovereigns and their nobles "may have much power for, and none against, the truth;"\* that "godly discipline may be restored and countenanced;"† that God would "lay to His hand, now that men have made void His law;"‡ that He would "unite all the members of the Church in faith, hope and charity, and an external communion, when it shall seem good in His eyes."§ If one could succeed in calmly stating the grievances of our Church, so as to make such intercessions general and fervent among her dutiful children; those who believe what the Bible says of prayer will not think slightly of the service so rendered to her.

But further; our views on these important public matters in-

\* Bp. Andrews's Devotions.

† Bishop Wilson's *Sacra Privata*.

‡ Prayer prefixed to Leslie's Case of the Regale.

§ Bishop Taylor's Holy Living,

fluence our personal feelings and conduct more perhaps than we might beforehand imagine. The great question of *Utile* against *Honestum* cannot be once seriously decided, even as a mere speculation, or in a matter of history, without producing a tendency to decide again in the same way on the next occasion, great or small, domestic or national, on which it comes before us. For example; a man has been used to judge this way or that of the conduct of Crammer or of Land in the several conjunctures which gave colour to their lives and fortunes: can we doubt that when he himself comes to be tried, on a small scale perhaps, in the government of his parish, or his estate, his own conduct will insensibly take a tinge, he will be either stubborn or compromising, according to what he has been used to admire or condemn? Will not his standard on all other matters, unconsciously to himself, be lowered or elevated? and that more effectually, the more sacred the one point is, which happens first to occasion this trial of his moral sense?

Moreover, there is a sort of confident exulting tone which whenever a man takes in his estimate of his country, and of public measures, it augurs but ill for the tenderness of his conscience in general: and that especially among Englishmen, who are apt, in a strange degree, to identify their own thoughts and feelings with the policy of their country and its parties. Whereas really to feel humbled and alarmed at the thought of the sins of our Church and country, compared with our many and great privileges; to “open our windows in our chamber towards Jerusalem,” and bewail the sins we have committed—“we, our kings, our princes and our fathers;”—is both a symptom and an exercise of true personal humiliation, and tends at least to pardon and relief, though small indeed may be our chance of seeing an angel “caused to fly swiftly” with the message of our deliverance. The very doubt we feel so often, both as to the conduct of those we read of, and as to our own conduct in real or possible cases, is a humbling, and therefore a salutary circumstance: it makes us sit looser to a world, which at best we find is very “full of perplexities;” whereas the kind of optimism which would overrule all such misgivings, may nourish under the guise of contentment a good deal of self-satisfaction and love of worldly ease. It has been said, “the outward peace of the Church distils into peace of conscience;”<sup>\*</sup> much more truly, we apprehend, might it be said, that a certain corroding care and fear about her public conduct and interests, occasioned by a deep estimate of her mysterious privileges, is likely to distil into a contrite mistrust and scrupulous watching of a man’s own self.

\* Bacon’s Essays.

More particularly are these contemplations likely to be wholesome to persons in our own condition, because it is so very evident, as far as human eye can discern, that nothing which any of us can do is likely to be of avail, directly, towards the visible deliverance of the Church: we are thrown back, more palpably almost than ever was any former generation, upon the instruments of a warfare merely passive: upon protests, and warnings, and prayer, and humiliation, and self-discipline. We deeply feel that it is a seasonable and friendly hint, which Mr. Gladstone has somewhere given, of the danger of self-will in the *reproducers*, as well as in the creators or inventors, of a system, and trust that it will not be lost on those whom it may concern. Yet the danger, we would hope, is in some degree diminished, when the effort is not voluntary, not the result of scheming and calculation, but is even forced on quiet persons by the seeming imminent and serious peril of God's household. In all but very childish minds, such emergencies, one should think, must subdue the tone of thought, and make men forget self for a while.

Upon the whole, while we deprecate as earnestly as the author, or any of those who think with him, the great national sin of rejecting the Church, there is one thing, we are free to confess, which appears to us yet more to be dreaded: and that is, the Church herself being induced, by fear of public evil or any other cause, to forego any of her sacred principles for the sake of retaining her connection, real or nominal, with the state. The sin of the temporal body would surely never be the less flagrant, for its involving the spiritual body also: nor would the forfeiture of the heavenly blessing prove the less certain or less complete. And however fearful the view which may be taken of a world antichristianized by the downfall of establishments, might not a sadder picture be drawn, and one at least as likely to be realized, of a Church turned antichristian by corrupt establishments?—a State succession of heretical pastors, creeds omitted or corrupted, holy prayers and sacraments profaned, or modified, or cast by at the popular will; and all amid the din of self praise, and high pretensions to evangelical truth, and every corner of the land ringing with gratulations to England, on its containing, beyond question, “the most moral and religious people on the face of the earth?” This is the sort of anticipation which most alarms us; and the more, because it seems to exclude persecution; whereas the violent separation of Church and State almost appears to involve it. There is no blood of martyrs in the former prospect, no seed of future diffusion and victory: but suppose the power of the State in hands which studiously disowned all religious profession, and notwithstanding the liberal vauntings of



the age, we are much mistaken if pains and penalties would not soon be found for the resolute assertors of Church principle. The persons at least, who represent the party which in that case would be uppermost, seem resolved to tolerate every thing but intolerance, and to pronounce the Church, intolerance.

We shall be called sad alarmists : but it is as well, we think, to realize a little the tendencies of things : and we are far indeed from holding out either of the abovementioned miserable consummations as inevitable. One of the Church's best human hopes, under that merciful Providence which has hitherto been so gracious to her in England, lies in the assurance that a chosen band will not be wanting of such persons as the author of the work before us, to assert those principles, which all in their station are so strongly tempted to disown : even as it would be one among her consolations, should this evil age prevail, to know that they were still on her side, realizing, but in a diviner sense, the noble saying of old, *Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates PATRIA una complexa est* ; that is to say, " the Jerusalem from above, which is " and ought to be " free, the Mother of us all."

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ART. V. — 1. *Letters from Lord John Russell to the Lords Lieutenants, and to the Magistrates in Sessions, and to Mayors in Boroughs, in certain Counties.* 1839.

2. *Return to an Address of the Hon. the House of Commons, dated 20th August 1839 ; for a Return of all Associations formed and armed for the Protection of Life and Property, under the Authority of Letters from Lord John Russell to Lords Lieutenant of Counties and to Magistrates, dated the 7th day of May, 1839.*

THE subject of Armed Associations for the protection of life and property may seem, at first sight, rather out of our usual range, but we cannot help recording our objections to a project so contrary to the customs and the character of our country. We feel strongly prepossessed as Englishmen and as Churchmen, and whatever else we delight to be called, against this un-English and un-Churchlike innovation ; and as long as we read in the page of Scripture so many recommendations of a peaceful and forbearing manner of meeting injuries, whether threatened or done, we shall not think ourselves travelling beyond *our* record, when we are deprecating any free, hasty, or irregular use of the weapons of carnal warfare

First, a few words on that state of things which is imagined by the Home Secretary to justify inviting one part of our town population to arm themselves against the other, leaving the occasion, the number and choice of persons so armed, and other such important questions, to the discretion or indiscretion, as may be, of his worshipful the mayor for the time being. That state of affairs is nothing new. Take any manufacturing town, and half a dozen sentences will describe a cycle of changes, in which its history will evolve *ad infinitum*. One of its phases is as follows. There is a time when every thing is abundant, excepting the supply of labour; for hands are wanted, and the heart of the wealthy man expands with unusual delight at the sight of a multitude. Manufactories are building on all sides, and chimneys are every week outtopping one another. New streets shoot out and radiate and cross one another over the suburban gardens and meadows quick as ice crystals form on the surface of a pool in a calm frosty night. Houses cannot be built fast enough, and are engaged before the turf is moved; nay, the turf is not always moved. But though hundreds are flocking in from the country to exchange the plough for the loom, still the cry is, "Hands are wanted." Capitalists then know not what to do with their money, and they who are not capitalists are able to procure money for any project they please. China and the Indies and a hundred American republics are calling for our wares. But want of hands still clogs the career of speculation. The operatives know their advantage. *They* are then the masters. They can get almost whatever wages they have the modesty to ask. And as, like their employers, they think the present state of things must last for ever, they spend their money as freely as they earn it. They cover their brick floors with carpets, and give their daughters silk frocks and parasols. This is what is called prosperity. The modern philanthropist then walks abroad, and surveys with benignant joy the realization of his fondest hopes. But to the Christian this fair scene is not without alloy. Every form of vice and error then breaks out with tenfold energy; and that numerous class which knows no discipline but need, then rushes headlong to indulgence and to sin. All however may soon perceive that this is a fever, and no healthy state. For a time thy cheek is flushed, the pulse is quick, the veins are full, and every pore is open; but by-and-bye succeed the aching limb and stiffened joint, the flagging circulation, and the chill contracted skin. Before long every day brings tidings that the whole world is surfeited with our commodities, which are rotting in the warehouses of a thousand distant ports; that nations are bankrupt, and our most prized manufactures are hawked about in foreign cities for

a quarter of the sum they cost at home in wages only. A panic ensues: the visionary fabric of commercial credit, adorned with innumerable golden schemes, falls to the ground. New built manufactories are deserted. Scarcely finished machinery, with every point and edge and corner sharp, and every surface bright, is sold for a mere per centage of its contract price. The operative is thrown out of work, or kept on at wages lowered down to the starvation point: for there are always some masters who are wealthy and provident enough to be able to defy the times, and continue their mills going though at a loss, or only a distant prospect of return. At such a time a strike would be, as a leading chartist said the other day, speaking of the projected "sacred month," a real "godsend" to the masters; if at least the operatives could only be induced to confine themselves to meetings, processions, and political agitation. The master then becomes really master. Then the wretched thriftless class of men above described starve, but of course are not content to starve. They rebel against an order of things which does not provide uninterrupted security to the improvident. Debarred from sensual excess they become machine breakers, reformers, or chartists.

Such are the two extremes between which our manufacturing towns are always oscillating; though there are many disturbing forces and counteracting media, that make the extremes themselves comparatively unfrequent, and also give an individual character to the manufacturing annals of each year. Mercantile depressions are often only local, or only in certain branches of trade, whence the distress consequent on them more admits of alleviation, can be traced to a palpable origin, and affords less handle to political misrepresentation. Again, the variations in demand are commonly not so great but that masters and men may differ in their opinions of them, and consequently enter on long and painful struggles on the question of wages, to the great loss of both parties. At one time therefore we find one of these parties in a condition to dictate terms, at another time another; but generally they are more evenly matched. As no party can attain its object against a powerful antagonist without union, so in the instance before us, there is a combination formed on both sides, neither of which perhaps is entirely clear of occasional unfairness.

The mill owners are of course, from their position in society, the first to hear the rising murmur of popular discontent; for they are the great paymasters. It falls to them to make the unwelcome announcements that the mill must be stopped, or half the hands dismissed, or the wages of all reduced, or, what comes to the same thing, not raised, in spite of a general rise

in the price of provisions, or whatever other plan the exigency of the times may require. This is a very painful office. Very painful is it to tell men who work hard and long, and yet in many instances can hardly get the coarsest food for themselves and their families, that they must henceforth live on less. It would be a painful office, even if the master obviously shared the general straitening, and could give ocular proof that he lowered his own profits as well as his workpeople's wages. But to all appearance, though nothing can be more deceitful than appearances in such cases, he still seems to thrive as much as ever, and at least to retain and enjoy the accumulated profits of more successful times : and nothing can be more disagreeable to the master than to be the messenger and administrator of privation and ruin to hundreds in his employ, by the sweat of whose brow he is what he is, while he suffers no visible abatement of his own comforts and luxuries. He feels himself liable to be suspected of lowering their wages from no other reason than the imaginary necessity of maintaining his profits up to some arbitrary standard ; a necessity which he is aware will not appear so unavoidable to all parties as to his own mind.

Under these circumstances, therefore, the master manufacturer is sorely tempted to ward off obloquy as well as he may from himself to some other quarter—to direct the attention of the necessitous murmurer to some other class of society, or part of the social frame. And if there should happen to be any laws or institutions, whose direct pressure he feels like so much friction or dead weight or resisting medium imposing stringent limitations to the speed and power of commercial enterprise, the above painful circumstances are but too likely to elicit from him the expression of his secret impatience of them, if indeed it have been secret ; however much his reason may acquiesce in the public necessity of those institutions, and however little he may really believe that he, or any body, would in the long run be the better for their removal.

While, therefore, discontent is a constant product of the social system in our great towns, its form and pretence will be found to vary according to very accidental circumstances ; and it will be also found that the employers are not the last to give it, if possible, a political turn. We have known master manufacturers, persons of a certain amount of honesty and respectability, advocate on public grounds, without any disguise, this very line of conduct for its own sake, without any reference to the question whether there did exist national grievances which were proper grounds of discontent, and whose removal would be either an act of justice, or any real benefit. It was much insisted on by these

persons, that, not the Reform Bill, but the *popular demand* for the Reform Bill, was the salvation of the country, inasmuch as it happily diverted the minds of the people from certain dangerous projects, foremost among which were some obnoxious schemes for extorting by conspiracy or by violence higher wages than the state of the market allowed. We also remember, that the Birmingham Political Union was much, and we will not say undeservedly, extolled by its wealthy members and friends, on the ground that it furnished method, union, and a political aim, to an excitement which might else have been directed to local objects, and found a vent in personal outrages and desultory agitation. They *avowed* it to be a salutary thing, that a political union menacing and controlling the state should have swallowed up trades unions, operative societies, and a host of private quarrels, which were directly dangerous only to individuals.

We have on one occasion seen the chief authorities of a manufacturing town attempt, though the attempt was vain, to divert a mob engaged in the *indiscriminate* destruction of property, by calling a public meeting for the purpose of resolutions, &c., in favour of the Reform Bill, and when that plan had miscarried, by exposing for signature drafts of petitions to the same purport in the market place, which however turned out equally unsuccessful.

A general turn out is so painful and harassing to the master, is every day that it lasts such a real increasing loss to his trade, is so full of angry menace and actual violence, entails such obloquy and suspicion on the masters, and gives rise to so many interminable heartburns, that, taking human nature as it is, we cannot wonder that the masters should gladly seize opportunities of taking refuge in some counter irritation. We cannot be surprised, whatever opinion we may have of the morality of the scheme, to see them at one time introducing the Professor of Socialism to a population of turn-outs, at another time publicly giving immense sums (one millowner this year as much as a hundred guineas) towards the expenses of an anti-corn-law agitation by itinerant lecturers of the most violent sort, and by other such questionable means. Can we suppose that commercial men, accustomed to calculations at the same time immense and minute, and able to tell at once by intuition the smallest quotients of the largest sums,—whose very manufactories are but so many calculating machines, continually reducing from millions to units, and units to millions, should with so much industry halloo on their dependent masses of men against such a shade of a shadow of a grievance as the Pension list, for example, (which, if its pretended burden were equally distributed by our fiscal system over

the whole population, which it is not, and if it were also true that certain payments out of the public purse to certain persons were necessarily so much loss to all the other members of the nation, which is also very far from being the case, would even then, even on these preposterous suppositions, amount to less than one penny per head yearly), can we suppose these men would do so, except in the hope, nay, rather from the continual necessity, of sending the operative classes on a false scent, in order to cover the pressing difficulties of their own position? All men are not high minded, otherwise we should not call it high-mindedness; and any one who has seen starving thousands protracting for months the struggle between hunger and pride, buoyed up from day to day with the wildest projects and rumours of assistance, of triumph, or revenge, and even debarred by the bitterness of their souls and their increasing poverty, from all the offices and consolations of religion, will not wonder that the small knot of men who have to stand the brunt of an exasperated multitude should think any novelty a relief, any harbour a refuge, any diversion a fair game.

It is as much the policy of these gentlemen to transfer the interest and expectations of the people from local to political questions, as it was the policy of the ancient kings of England to save their tottering thrones by setting their turbulent barons upon schemes of foreign conquest, or as it was the policy of the popes to stir up and gather against the Saracen distracted and rebellious Christendom. And we are disposed to believe that such is the natural leaning of the English character on the authority of rank and wealth, that the working classes would never take up political objects to any formidable extent, without some countenance from their employers, who are driven, as we have described, by the instinct of self defence, to be the chief political agitators. Now this influence may be considered as *external* to the populace, as the *suggestion* of another class, giving only form and pretence to the spirit of dissatisfaction. So also may be considered all the other rebellious influences at work,—the press, and the living agents of revolution pervading the country,—the thousands of miserable men in London, including not a few foreign refugees, who, like vultures, watch from afar the progress of discontent, and eagerly snuff the first scent of rebellion. All these influences act on the working population from without. The same may be said of Spenceanism, the reform mania, socialism, chartism, and all the other schemes for the renovation of our country, produced in such quick succession that time can scarcely keep pace with them; they are devised and propagated by men of other classes and professions than those whose benefit

they pretend;—by men who do but cast the shadows of their own visionary systems on the surface of the unthinking multitude, just as eastern conjurors can throw the vivid forms of men and beasts upon the shapeless vapour and the midnight gloom. But nothing shows more plainly that the shape and colour of the public discontent is something impressed, by extrinsic means, upon the minds of the mass, and should be treated separately from the discontent itself, than the well known fact, that they who suffer most are not they who most complain and who are the most ready for deeds of violence. The secretaries of councils, the presidents and vice-presidents of union-lodges, the delegates and emissaries and all this sort of gentry, are universally men in the superior and more profitable branches of manufacture, or in some still higher profession—men, who either are receiving, or have received comparatively ample incomes: but whose undisciplined tempers, lawless ambition, and utter want of principle, have either thrown them out of employ, or suggested the hope of rising above their present rank by agitation. Whatever they have been, many of them are now living in luxury, seeing the world, and playing the great man, on infamous wages wrung from the trembling grasp of the poor wretches whom they are suffered partly to deceive and partly to oppress.\*

We do not deny that political excitement once created is apt to swallow up other grievances. If it had not this tendency it would not answer the employer's purpose to create it. Nor do we deny that it will sometimes continue much longer and go to much further lengths than its promoters anticipated or desired; nor do we deny that the promoters are themselves sometimes carried away by the passions they desire to excite in others, till they are at last in that ambiguous state between deceiving and being deceived which philosophers delight to imagine. Yet we

\* Some years ago we chanced to witness the funeral of a unionist, attended by the whole body. The strike had lasted for several months; and as these poor creatures could neither afford christenings nor weddings, and had not clothes to appear at any place of worship, even if they were so disposed, one could not object to their taking this opportunity of showing that they had not utterly forgotten their religion. It was however intended on their part as a manifestation of numerical strength. There were about two thousand men and women, most of them looking very squalid and miserable. Every twentieth rank there came two burley fellows clad in white calico surplices, who, we are told, were the presidents and vice-presidents of the lodges; and they formed a palpable exception to the general wretchedness, presenting in their persons and faces rather the reverse of emaciation. Each lodge had established its head quarters at some public house; and as the officers were always on duty, having a good deal of business to transact, and were moreover on the best of understandings with mine host, it is not surprising that at the final closing of the accounts after an unsuccessful campaign, the staff expenses were found to be a very considerable item.

maintain that the question of wages lies at the root of all manufacturing, as much as at the root of all agricultural, commotions; that, from the fluctuating character of trade, such commotions must be always expected; and that their political aspects are always adventitious, given to them, in the first instance at least, by the masters themselves.

We repeat, that what feeds and stimulates discontent in our large towns is nothing else than the mere want of higher remuneration for labour, whether that want be reasonable or otherwise. This want must always exist in more or less degree, and so also must that discontent. Any measures to satisfy or alleviate it, or to check its unruliness, must be regular, constant measures, consistent with the spirit of the constitution of English usage; and calculated rather to unite all classes, than to widen breaches and aggravate differences.

We will now proceed to inquire into the new remedy proposed for these popular disorders, which, as we have endeavoured to show, are matters of constant recurrence, are not political, but purely manufacturing, chiefly arising not from malice but distress, are in their origin questions not between any class or set of men and the common weal, but between them and their masters, —between two classes in one town in daily communication with one another; and which disorders are indebted for such political semblance as they may seem to have, to the suggestions and countenance of the higher class. The following is a copy of a letter lately addressed to the Lords Lieutenant of certain counties:—

“MY LORD,—I beg to inform your Lordship that in case riots should take place, or if there should be good cause for apprehending that riots are about to take place in part of the County of \_\_\_\_\_, and the principal inhabitants of a disturbed district should be desirous of forming an association for the protection of life and property, and offer their services to government for that purpose, their services will be accepted.

“In case of such an association being formed, I will give orders for providing such arms as may be necessary, at the expense of government.

“I have further to request that the offer to form such an association may be notified to me by your Lordship, as Lord Lieutenant of the County.

“I have, &c.

(Signed)

“J. RUSSELL.”

Another letter from the same functionary has been sent to the magistrates in sessions, and mayors in boroughs in certain counties, directing them how to proceed for the preservation of the peace in disturbed districts. From this we extract the following passages:—



“In case the magistrates should wish to use as special constables (to be sworn in and employed according to the provisions of the Special Constables Act) any Chelsea pensioners, resident in their district, upon whose services they can rely, I will give orders for their being provided with necessary arms. And if you have reason to believe that riots or disturbances of the peace are likely to occur, and should be of opinion that the constabulary force, or special constables already sworn in, require arms for self-defence, and for the protection of lives and property of the inhabitants, I shall be ready to give orders for supplying the necessary arms to such of them as you consider may be safely trusted with their use.”

Such is the pass we are come to after two years destruction and reform. After every demand, just or unjust, constitutional or unconstitutional, has been granted, what is the fruit of concession? That we are told to arm ourselves in defence of our lives and properties. If this were to be done at any time, why not at the first when there was something worth fighting for, at least when there would have been some show of nobility and sacredness in the cause? Is this the golden fulfilment of those fair promises which were so rife ten years since—this the halcyon calm, the age of reason and the reign of justice, the mutual endearments of reconciled factions, and all the other numberless, nameless blessings pledged to us, if we would only consent to give certain politicians a fair trial? Not a few easy, credulous people thought that by this time swords and pistols would be as unknown inconceivable things in the streets of our manufacturing towns as battering trains and men of war. Where, too, are our friends the ten-pound householders, once the object of so much special sympathy, for whose ascription to the constituent roll heaven and earth were moved? Are they to be the subjects or the objects of this “armed association?” In other words, is it for them, or against them? On which side are they to be in this pretty little civil war, whose programme we have just given? Are they to be at the hilt or the point of the cutlasses—the trigger or the muzzle of the pistols? Our rulers have entrusted to them the choice of the national legislature, and of the civic authorities: must the magistrates conclude that they may also be safely trusted with arms?

For nine long years it has been our peculiar happiness to see at the head of affairs the most enlightened body of statesmen on the face of the earth; the *élite* of families renowned through bygone ages for their love of liberty; men of European fame, members of the world's great brotherhood of talent, who have augmented their native wisdom by friendly intercourse with the wise and great of every civilized realm. For half a century previous

to this auspicious era, they had been allowed that calm seclusion from the cares and temptations of office, which is known to be most favourable to the growth of political virtue, and to the sacred work of inchoating and maturing plans of beneficial change. For that long period they could stand upon philosophy's high shore, and speculate upon the wanderings and the shipwrecks of a blind and narrow-minded policy. They could at least learn by the errors of others, and sometimes were solicited to step in awhile and mend them. Meanwhile they cherished in the people the spirit of freedom, and prepared the minds of men for that long-expected day, when a legislature of precarious shifts, of worn out prejudices, of jealous fears and unjust exclusions, would at length exhaust its petty store, and be banished for ever from the public counsels, to the dark haunts of bigotry, corruption, and intrigue. That day has come, and now, for these nine years, the men, whom the eyes and hopes of a whole nation had long designated to be the authors of their deliverance, have had full scope and means to embody in an actual course of administration those eternal principles of truth and virtue, of which the world had been so long defrauded; "ample room and verge enough, &c." They had come to their posts like impatient heirs after a long minority, entering on properties husbanded and augmented by the thrift and parsimony of anxious guardians. They have had the whole constitution, with all its ancient institutions, at their disposal, to repair or to surrender, as might best ameliorate or appease the nation. The prerogative of the Crown has been freely placed, with no more reserve than if it were a garden nosegay, or a plaything, into their hands. They have enjoyed alike, the royal favor and unbounded credit with the people. And deep and boldly, as became them, have they drawn from all these stores. While, if oversight could still be found in men so wise, in systems so matured; if to wisdom of design there could still be wanting skill in execution; and principles so good could possibly be disparaged for lack of a discreet appliance, there has happily been time allowed to learn a statesman's practised hand, and readiness, and variety of resource.

Let us now proceed to inquire what is the last and most perfect work of legislative wisdom, achieved under such favourable circumstances by these exalted men; the finishing stroke of policy, different in kind from all previous modes of governing mankind; a model for all future generations of statesmen. We will suppose that the fame of our wise and beneficent rulers has penetrated the wilds of Scythia, and tempted some Anacharsis to cross the world, and explore for the benefit of his countrymen the fountain head of political wisdom. He lands at the Tower

stairs, and having gazed on the sages who have chosen for their representative the present wise and impartial judge of international law, he asks his way to the seat of government and the assemblies of the people. His anticipations are not abated as he passes through the metropolis, for he is accustomed to look beyond externals, and does not expect to find a whole population exhibiting in their forms and manners the undoubted attributes of perfect virtue. He reflects also, that it must take more than ten years for so exquisite a leaven to work throughout so many millions of men, born and bred under vulgar systems. He therefore does not trust his first impressions, but inquires. He is staggered to hear of popular dissatisfaction, tumults and violence; and he eagerly interrupts the coffee-house acquaintance who is kindly enlightening his barbarism on these points, with the pertinent question—how the far-famed rulers of the land are meeting this unexpected disaster? His friend replies with a paraphrase of the documents quoted above: “The minister,” says he, “who undertakes the internal peace of the country, has sent word to all the magistrates to this effect—‘Gentlemen, we have done all we can think of to satisfy the people, and have given them every thing which the state could decently or comfortably part with. Nothing, therefore, can now be done for them, and as we must confess ourselves unable to be of any further assistance to you, so, if the people continue troublesome, we recommend you, and all others of the better sort, to take the law into your own hand, and look sharp after your lives and properties for yourselves, as well as you can. You have our full permission to knock all malcontents on the head, that is, if you can muster strong enough to do so. For this purpose we send you herewith, *via* railway, a supply of arms and ammunition, which for your own sakes, we advise you not to trust to every body that asks for them, as we hear these articles are in great request just now. Wishing you well through it, Yours, &c. John Russell.” We opine, that our Anacharsis would think within himself that he might have learnt this secret of government without coming so far from home.

We should be doing the Home Secretary great injustice if we denied that there was any precedent for an armed association of this independent and democratic character, not emanating directly from the State. But the only precedent we can find is one of which an enlightened legislator of the 19th century will hardly be proud. Hume describes (Vol. I, Appendix I,) a very curious Saxon bond, preserved by Dr. Hickes, and called by him, a *sodalitium*, or confederacy of men, who were of too considerable rank to avail themselves of the patronage of particular noblemen, and not powerful enough to support themselves by their inde-

pendent authority, who therefore composed a kind of separate republic, which rendered itself formidable to all aggressors. It combined various purposes, viz. a kind of benefit society, the prosecution of felons, and the protection of life and property, by whatever means. We commend to the consideration of our rulers some of Hume's remarks upon it, from which it appears that he considered the necessity of such a combination far from creditable to the state of the government. "It is not to be doubted," he says, "but a confederacy of this kind must have been a great source of friendship and attachment, where men lived in perpetual danger from enemies, robbers, and oppressors, and received protection chiefly from their personal valour, and from the assistance of their friends or patrons." \* \* \* "*The civil union being weak,* many private confederacies were entered into *to supply its place,* and to procure men that safety, which the *laws* and their own *innocence* were *not alone able* to insure them." \* \* \* \* "Men must guard themselves at any price against insults and injuries; and where they receive not protection from the laws and magistrates, they will seek it by submission to superiors, herding in some inferior confederacy, which acts under the direction of a powerful chieftain. And thus all anarchy is the immediate cause of tyranny, if not over the state, at least over many of the individuals."

It is the part of good government, nay, rather of civilization itself, to give distinctness of character to the various component parts and successive stages of the social state. It divides the light from the darkness, the land from the sea. It is always labouring to define relations, to ascertain rights, to give just method to duties, to clear up ambiguities, to hedge off dangerous proclivities, to surround danger with beacons and preventives, to mark the poison, to bury the sword in the sheath, and the magazine in the vault, and to give to every thing its proper name and outward guise. It endeavours to adorn with a gracious exterior whatever is good, to make evil hateful to the very sight, and if that evil be necessary, at least to array it with befitting circumstance, so that it may never be mistaken. It pronounces it a sin for good and evil to assume one another's clothing. Thus does it design that men shall always be without excuse, and shall not unwarily slide over the lubricous brink of error.

In these respects it is the sister art of language, which gives meaning and articulateness to vocal sounds. It is no easy work; nay, rather energy and deliberation must be applied; for there are many counter forces to be resisted; order being the *perfection* of nature, and therefore, in one sense, not natural to an *imper-*

fect state. Rudeness and violence are always breaking down the barriers of right and wrong, of peace and war, of obedience and rebellion, and other such wholesome distinctions. Fraud is also ever at work to counterfeit, to devise easy gradations, plausible pretences, and unobserved approaches to forbidden things. The human mind indeed cannot but view all things with a certain haze and uncertainty; the moral and political world is always, in some degree, "without form and void;" and it is the great office of a good government and a true religion to clear this mist, and to show things in their true form and colours.

But a strange destiny seems to pervade all the movements of those men who now stand in the stead of rulers over this country. We are under a system of half men and half measures; mongrel plans and non-descript creations; a disastrous twilight of politics, through which stealthily flutters a bat-like generation of statesmen. Nothing is clear, nothing stands confessed. Are our rulers the friends or enemies of the Church, or are they neither? Are they democrats or absolutists? Are they acting freely or under compulsion? Are their propositions the result of their own choice and judgment? Do they affect to originate measures, or merely to reflect the will of a popular party? Their policy seems but a law of confusion, an order of disorder, an attempt to identify opposites, to find a mean between truth and error, and join what cannot be reconciled. They are always secretly removing the landmarks of the constitution, and daubing the fair surface of the state with an envious wash, which makes all the colours run one into another. Whichever way we turn, duplicity meets our eyes. Are we at war with Don Carlos? Was our government compromised in the British legion sent from our metropolis to Spain? Does it observe the rule of non-interference? Are Church and State now united? Is Popery discountenanced or established? Is it accounted rebellion to resist the payment of taxes? Do our ministers support the ballot? Have the poor, by the present law, a *right* to relief? Has government encouraged or tried to suppress the chartists? To none of these questions can a Yes or a No be answered, but some new adverb is wanted for the purposes of the present ministry, with an intermediate signification, if indeed that could ever be determined. The true character of their policy is, as an old woman once described to a clergyman one of his predecessors,—“Neither one sort, nor the other sort, nor yet quite the t’other.” It is not perhaps downright war, or downright interference, or downright persecution of the Church, or downright support of Popery, or downright exclusion of the poor from their ancient

rights, but something with a happy proximity to these things, and which may on occasion easily verge into them; something, which, if not these things "hath very ill luck to be so like" these things. Perhaps the policy requires for its correct description a new set of modifying and palliating diminutives, "a little war," a little persecution, &c. To this class of hybrid measures, to this mulish species of legislation, must be referred Lord John Russell's Armed Associations. Are their members private men, or constables, or soldiers? Is it a service of peace or of war? Does each body originate from its own members, or from the civic magistrates, or from the Home Office? For great pains are taken to embarrass the affiliation. What is the particular degree of compulsion, obligation, conviction, persuasion, suggestion, inclination, or "desirousness," under which the members are considered to give in their names, and still more, under which they are considered to serve? If they serve, under whom do they serve, themselves, the mayor, or the sovereign? Are they responsible for the acts of the association? If, on the other hand, they refuse to serve, is it to be considered their fault if they lose in consequence their lives and properties?

If these numerous undecided questions only produced a mental embarrassment, and left the Armed Associations indescribable indeed in terms, but perfectly definite and controllable in deeds, we might trust that, after a few harmless mistakes and misnomers, things would right themselves and find appropriate places and names. But there is nothing in which ambiguity is more pregnant with danger, and in which therefore exact understandings are more peremptorily called for, and by cautious rulers more vigorously exacted, than in the assumption of martial authority and power. Force of arms, however necessary, is still a dreadful, hateful element of the social system: but we justly lose our terror, when we see it a docile slave to civil polity, and stopping, as if by magic, at a single word, or an imaginary line, in the midst of its most furious career. We contemplate it, as we do the movements of some vast machine, within whose range it is immediate death to come; but as that range is limited to a certain hair's breadth's space, and to a certain point of time, we fearlessly admire and gladly use the giant slave. But the new application of the force of arms, which we are now considering, may reasonably recal our fears. We see there an armed force springing up, like an earth-born Titan, from the ground; from no acknowledged parentage, under no adequate authority, and with rules and obligations utterly undefined. We see two or three hundred men appear with arms in our streets, and nothing to distinguish them from two or three hundred other men, who may think fit to do

the same in the cause of rebellion ten years hence, or even to-morrow. We see there ranks unaccustomed to obedience, and officers new to command; we see an army, which may virtually have elected its own generals, and that under the guidance of political passions; we see those arms, which are usually confided to the implicit obedience of soldiery, put in the hands of that independence, or rather license, which is only safe and allowable in the unarmed citizen; we see men made the instruments of death, who have perhaps been used to think subordination disgraceful; we see an enrolled multitude, who may perhaps be participators in the very crimes which they are required to suppress; who may not perhaps always assume their arms when they are summoned as soldiers, or lay them down again the moment they are dismissed as citizens.

Every time this force is brought into operation, the result will show that it must either be given up or improved, *i. e.* be better armed and trained. The like has often come to pass on other subjects. Most of the "improvements" on which "practical men" so pride themselves, are only so many further departures from principles, which more scrupulous persons could not find it in their heart entirely to surrender. In lax and evil times an unforeseen emergency occurs: an anomalous and unconstitutional remedy is found, which at first is tolerated as an *exception* to the regular order of things, as a temporary expedient, in which it seems superfluous to stickle for principles. At first it is no great scandal, because it is an avowed irregularity, a mere patchwork put together to meet the present necessity: but it is soon found that from that very reason its working is faulty and calls for "improvement." That which is, to men of constitutional views, its only excuse, *viz.*, its mixed and unsystematic character, soon proves to be its chief imperfection; and bye-and-bye it is perfected into a regular and permanent system, at the expense of that much higher order of things on which it has been ingrafted. May it not be so in the instance before us? A few outrages on the part of the Chartists may frighten even judicious people to acquiesce in "the principal men" of the district, or the persons most in the confidence of the mayor, walking about the streets and roads with pistols and cutlasses; and if the mob are good-natured enough to run away from them, shortsighted people will think the Armed Association has done great service, and will laugh at the danger of the precedent. Should it happen, however, that the Chartists are not quite so complaisant, and the association is brought into actual service, then will instantly appear numberless difficulties; a hundred alternatives ramifying into a hundred others. The first word in every body's mouth will be that the thing cannot remain as it is, and there must be some alteration.

Let us suppose Section G. fifty strong, issuing from the Police Office, about an hour after the closing of the manufactories, in full panoply and ripe for action, like Minerva starting from her father's brain. The leader is ordered to clear a certain street; for which purpose, he divides his force into small parties. Now this gentleman ought to be something of a tactician, and the officers of the small parties under him ought to have a little experience of at least the form of fighting. But how are such men to be found for an army, which in a large town may be a thousand or more, especially as soldiers are made, not born? But observe that party of a dozen, headed by a quondam cornet in the disbanded yeomanry, which is marching, compact and steady, bidding the crowds that throng the pavement to "move on." They sullenly obey; but just retiring a few steps from the curb-stone, survey at their leisure the handful of men who are taking this liberty with them. They follow the men at arms without much fear, and bye-and-bye fix their eyes, not on the aristocratical young gentleman at the head of the body, but on the well-known figure of a certain bragging minacious conservative, who is only a private in the column. Even through the dusk they cannot fail to observe his portly person, his white pantaloons, blue frock-coat, and black stock, *a la* George the Fourth. This recognition is doubly inconvenient to the object of it; first, he hears his name denounced, and he draws on his party the special regards of the mob, who proceed to direct a fire of words and missiles, intentionally on him, and incidentally on his comrades; secondly, if in the course of this night's fray a pistol should by chance be fired from this party, there will be twenty witnesses, who will plainly have seen, or will firmly believe, or unhesitatingly swear, that he of the white trousers and blue surtout was the firer of it, and consequently the murderer of the poor foolish lad on whom the inquest is sitting. There is nothing improbable in all this, as will appear from the following very natural stipulations which have come to our knowledge. One man refused to serve, unless the armed constables were to have a military uniform; another, if a certain person, who chanced at the moment to lie under the wrath of the people, was to be of his party.

Here are some reasons for a uniform, but many more will be found out in practice. The Chartists have plenty of arms, and at present have the advantage over special constables in knowing better how to use them, having been a little drilled. How are the two to be distinguished in a dark night? Yet how necessary it is they should be known at a glance, when the very reason for arming the one side, is that the other is known to be armed already. What dreadful mistakes there will otherwise certainly be, when they come to close quarters, and are mixed with one another, as



has been the case hitherto in all the more serious conflicts. Again, if this new force should unhappily have to use their arms, and that with effect, it will make a most important difference to the feelings of all parties, especially of those unfortunate persons who find themselves the immediate authors of a townsman's death, whether they were at the time in the livery of war or of peace. There are people who would be resolute and decisive enough when outwardly metamorphosed into soldiers; but who would not easily bring themselves to any work of blood in the costume in which they are usually seen conversing with their neighbours, or walking with their wives; and who perhaps could never afterwards be persuaded that they had not committed a murder. We are sure also that the common feeling of mankind will revolt from the sight of men, fresh and unchanged from their desks and their counters, walking about the streets shooting at the human species. The disguise of a red coat makes all the difference between a necessary evil, and an intolerable atrocity.

We are acquainted with an instance of a man in a public office of great trust, and requiring also great severity, whose profession was not the shedding of blood, but who, in a case of absolute necessity, was driven to this extreme. Though he received from all quarters the strongest expressions of praise, and could be blamed by none, yet he lost his peace of mind, and before long, gave up, to the great hurt of his fortune, the situation and residence, which had brought on him this disaster. What is still stranger, he has since appeared to lose the firmness and consistency of character for which he was before remarkable.

If we pass on to the arms and method of warfare, it is equally obvious they will soon be found to want "improvement," and that in the direction of a National Guard. The Home Secretary has sent down arms suited to a scuffle, a close engagement, or a succession of single combats, such as happen in an attack on a gang of smugglers. We believe there could not be a greater cruelty. Pistols and cutlasses require, above all other weapons, skill and strength, neither of which will the special constables have in comparison with their antagonists. Can it really be intended to throw away the vantage possessed by an authorized and organized body, by making them fight with weapons suited only to close quarters?—to risk the valuable lives of the principal inhabitants and most trustworthy persons in our chief cities, on the doubtful issue of a number of desultory conflicts with athletic men, accustomed to manual labour, and many of them armed with similar weapons? A hundred shocking incidents fresh in our memories warn us of what will happen. A man of peace, whom the town clerk has just invested with a little brief authority and converted into a warrior, approaches the rioters, cocks his

pistol, which perhaps does not explode prematurely and kill either himself or his companion before the battle begins, and with nervous haste attacks the foe. He comes upon some man in the very act of plunder or sedition; and finding his words and his strength of arm alike insufficient to reduce the fellow to submission, he points his pistol: a struggle ensues, in the course of which it goes off, and kills either the rioter in question, which is bad enough, or some other rioter standing by, which is worse, or worse still the unfortunate special constable himself, or worst of all some poor creature looking out of the windows of an adjoining house.

A few such mischances would convince all, that if this force is to be kept up, it must not venture on such personal encounters, but must trust mainly to its compactness and strength of front, and act only as a body. Yet what chance will it have with its present accoutrements? How ineffectual will be a phalanx of cutlasses! How ridiculous platoon firing with pistols! The certainty of an "improvement" in this respect being soon found necessary is so obvious that we can hardly give the home secretary credit for seriously intending the Armed Association to continue in its present stage. It is true that he repudiates the idea of a national guard, and withholds the musket and bayonet. But is the present ministry likely to feel any very heartfelt objection to a kind of force which has served their cause so well in other countries? And is it inconsistent with the rest of their policy, that even when doing what best pleases themselves, they should rather appear to be compelled than to dictate?—that they should rather create a seeming necessity and general demand for the thing they inwardly wish, than themselves openly and directly initiate it?—that they should first put forth some mere fragment or embryo stage of their design, which, when people are tolerably reconciled thereto, will bye-and-bye mature and develop into something which it would have been difficult at first to thrust upon the constitutional part of the nation?

We should not think a bit the worse of a man's courage or patriotism, if he altogether refused to enter this anomalous service. He made his choice between a civil and a military life early in youth, when his mind was yet disengaged, and open to the allurements offered by both these courses. He *then* deliberately preferred inglorious labours, and usefulness without distinction. But *now* his ideas are all assimilated to peace, and every part of his condition intervoven with it. Why may he not be allowed to stand by his choice? The most peaceful path of life affords opportunities enough of learning and proving *moral* courage, and of acquiring perhaps more valuable virtues than that of shooting and being shot with coolness and propriety: but a man of trade may

reasonably suspect his physical temperament, and fear that he will perhaps incur ridicule, though not just reproach, if he exposes himself to new and untried circumstances. We are not surprised to hear of a general backwardness to turn soldier at a moment's warning; and cannot blame a man for stipulating, as we know was done in one instance, that he should not be put in the foremost rank. True courage is a matter of experience and habit. That which is a laudable daring in a soldier, would often be only an ignorant rashness in a civilian.

In a rude state of society every man is a soldier; the result is, that barbarism is almost synonymous with cruelty. This confusion of the civil and the military is always found to characterize more or less an imperfect stage of civilization; and consequently to give in it an undue prominence to the military character, to familiarize men's minds with the last appeal, to produce a proud and selfish code of honour, to overpower the voice of reason and religion, to make cruel citizens and disorderly soldiers. These evils are perhaps augmented rather than otherwise when a higher class is armed against a lower, as in a conquered country, and as Lord John Russell proposes in England. Russia is a well-known example of the confusion we deprecate; where all distinctions and honours are merged in the gradations of military rank, and the greatest genius in literature, art, or science, sits below the man that wears a sword. Perhaps also no small portion of what offends an English taste in the American character, is owing to the very common assumption of the name and arms and rank of soldiers, unaccompanied with their peculiar discipline.

In our nation the warlike element is concentrated with some slight exceptions in a regular army. We think it no small blessing that the evils of a military life should be confined to a few thousand men. Perhaps in no other country is the sight and thought of arms so unusual. Thousands in our country villages have not so much as seen a soldier, and only heard of battles. Nay, in the midst of a European war, when other countries seemed only so many nurseries of conscripts, and bred fewer men for the sickle than for the sword, war drained from our labouring classes no more than here and there some unruly and ill-conditioned fellow. We were always more ready to give money than men. We fought Napoleon's steel-clad legions with our factories, our fields, and our collieries; and sent out subsidies, while he was decimating his population. In revenge he called us a nation of shopkeepers,—no small praise we think for Christian men: and we should be sorry to see Lord John Russell adulterate with arms what a conquered foe has called the staple of our nation.

In England every thing hitherto conspires to insulate the pro-

fession of arms. The soldier of every rank must devote himself wholly to his employment. He must be ready to sacrifice all local and domestic ties to public duty, inasmuch as any moment he may be summoned to the tropics or the antipodes. Even at home he is kept continually on the move from England to Ireland, from barrack to barrack, and never knows where he may be six months hence. The army thus becomes as distinct from common social feelings, as hardened against dangerous sympathies, as clear from too familiar associations, as incorruptible, as unflinching, as passive an instrument in the keeping of the civil polity, as the soldier's musket, or the very sword of state borne in the premier's hand before his sovereign. But the new national guard, or whatever else this armed civil force is to be called, is all association, all bias, all political sympathies, all independence. It will be entirely created, modelled, sustained, and directed, by personal, local, political and accidental passions. It will thus be both formidable in itself, and a still worse evil in a moral point of view—it will bring war, if not actual fighting, yet all the hateful circumstances, the irreligious notions, the physical comparisons, the boastful manifestations of war, into our streets, our civic pomps, our holidays, our churches, our schools, and our fire-sides.

A people which pays fifty millions a year to its government has a right to expect that life and property shall be protected without being obliged to fight for them. If any persons are required by the state to defend their lives and properties themselves, they have plainly a right to at least a partial exemption from taxes paid on the very condition of having that done for them. "No taxes, no security," certainly is not a pleasant state of things, but has a pretence of fairness. Whereas "taxes and no security" is neither pleasant nor fair. A man does not expect to pay for insurance, and for his loss by fire at the same time. The Englishman pays heavily for his security from arms, and largely remunerates his national defenders with every kind of return, with maintenance, rank, and praise; he therefore expects that they should do their duty, and entirely relieve him of the burden. It is their place to fight, and his to sit at home. A soldier meets his foe, whether in the plains of Belgium, or in the streets of Bristol, *prepared to die*. A grievous wound disarranges none of his plans. To be shot is the natural termination of his prospects; and is in his case rather an honour than a misfortune; it is the most anticipated, the most provided for, of all martial contingencies; there is nothing sudden in it, nothing shocking or inconsistent; it excites no surprise, no inquiry into causes, or into the motives and responsibilities of the individual, but seems a necessary part of a system. When the soldier falls he makes no vacancy but what is at once filled up; he

is only a unit in the vast sums of war; he leaves no painful mementos either for compassion or revenge; he is remembered with honour by his comrades, and forgotten in the place where he falls; his uniform is his shroud, in which he is always ready to die; his march is but a funeral pageant; and if he returns from the fight, we consider him only spared to another day. But the death of a private citizen by popular violence is an unmixed calamity, an unmitigated horror; it leaves a gap which is never filled, a sore which is never healed, a pollution on the spot where it was perpetrated and on the whole city itself, which is sometimes felt for centuries, and which for centuries seems to demand fresh expiation. It is a terror to one half of the nation, and a guilt to the other; it is the most sudden and unnatural of deaths, coming in the midst of all the circumstances of peace, as a footstep of blood in a garden of flowers; it combines in one the worst misfortunes of families, cities, and nations. If one thing is wanted to aggravate the many grievous features of such a disaster, it is that a citizen should die with arms in his hands, himself, whether justifiably or otherwise, menacing the lives of his fellow townsmen. In which case to the above evils are added those painful questions, that from their nature can never be decided, whether he in any degree deserved or contributed to his own death, by his rashness, his anger, his too great readiness to shed blood, his personal or political antipathies, or any such unworthy feeling.

It has often been observed that an English and a French mob differ remarkably in their dread of a regular military force. A charge of ten dragoons is sufficient to disperse in as many minutes the largest and most threatening body of malcontents ever seen in our cities, as is proved every time the experiment is really tried. Nay, the cry, "The soldiers are coming," or the mere sound of a horse's hoofs will often have the same effect. Whereas the French populace will coolly prepare and steadily maintain their ground against whole armies, and see parks of artillery brought out against them without stirring. This is not owing to any cowardice in our nation, but to several peculiar circumstances much to its credit; such as the following: the English do not *know*, as a matter of experience, that an undisciplined mob *can* make a good fight against regular soldiery; they have a horror of bloodshed; they are utterly unaccustomed to the use and sight and sound of arms; they have an extraordinary value for human life; they are firm believers in a judgment and a future state; they have a deep reverence for the law, a thorough confidence in its administration, and a respectful dread of its ministers and avengers. Now we conceive that the custom, if custom it should unhappily ever become, of leading out against an angry populace a hundred or two of their own fellow

townsmen, all well-known faces, imperfectly armed, and still more imperfectly acquainted with the use of their arms, will be admirably adapted to undo some of these prejudices. The Armed Association will have no magic charm on the imagination; it will produce no exaggerated *phantasia* of strength. The mob will know exactly what Mr. Jones the grocer, or Mr. Wilkins his shopman, or Mr. Edwards the attorney's clerk, are physically worth in a hustle. Operatives will know that they can handle a sword as well as their masters; they will become accustomed to the sight, the sound, the use, and the effects, of deadly weapons; they will see quiet domestic men like themselves walking out, and coolly contemplating, in a certain probable emergency, the shedding of their townsmen's blood; they will be familiarized with the last appeal; they will learn to confound the civilian and the soldier. Instead of the stern vindicators of offended law, clad in the dreadful livery of wrath and power, they will see a number of men, whom they know individually with all their weaknesses and varieties of mind, manner and costume, partizans perhaps of the other side in the quarrel, perhaps, still worse, of their own side; men wholly and solely known in their individual and private capacities.

It is now the practice, whenever a riot is apprehended, for the clerk of the peace to swear in several hundred special constables, who receive each a short heavy staff, as it is called, though not eighteen inches long. They are most of them persons selected for their peaceable habits, who have never struck a blow, or collared a man, or done the smallest act of violence since they left school, and who look with sufficient horror at the piece of wood put into their hands. The chief terror of this mysterious instrument consists in its being painted blue, with the royal initials in yellow, which at a short distance passes for gilt; while to give it and its owner a double chance of keeping company in the *melée* a loop of leather is prudently fixed to the handle to be passed round the wrist. For a handful of such men, with such means of offence and defence, to encounter a furious mob, is of course a considerable act of faith in the triumph of law and order, and as such has generally been rewarded with success. But what can such men possibly do with pistols and cutlasses?

This leads us to that very grave question, whethert these persons are to be trained? Every thing looks as if they were intended to go through a course of drilling. Nay, in some towns they are being drilled already. They are called Armed Associations, which seems to imply organization, and we should think some kind of *preparation* before the actual emergency which calls them into use. Again, their advocates call them national guards. But putting out of the question what the proposers and originators may chance to

intend or wish, is it not a matter of necessity that a body of men sent to battle with instruments of death in their hands must first *prove* them, must first learn to use them, if it be only that they may not misuse them? Weapons in unpractised hands are in fact the property of the strongest or most numerous party. Colliers and blacksmiths will soon turn the tables on a regiment of lawyers and linen drapers, unless the latter make up with a little acquired skill for their general inferiority in physical developement. But if arms are to be used, their bearers must learn to use them; and if this is not done in public it will be done in private; for nobody will live in the constant expectation of being called upon any evening to bear arms in the service of his country, without preparing himself for so awful an emergency by a little familiarity with his weapons. We believe however there must be a public training of the whole body; as the strength of this force will not consist in the skill and prowess of each individual, but in the phalanx, in the quick, compact, ready movements of the whole. In a word, if an armed force is ever to be used at all, it must be a regularly trained civic militia, i. e. a national guard.

Every step short of a national guard is, we honestly believe, more objectionable in every respect than a national guard; more likely than it to confound peace and war, the civil and the military, the journeyman's tucked-up apron and the glittering blade; more likely to irritate, without overawing the minds of men, to alienate political parties and classes of society, to lead to shocking disasters and irreconcilable animosities. If citizens are to fight, and if there is really no help for it, they ought to be transformed as much as possible into soldiers, in order to keep up these useful distinctions, as well in their own minds, as in the minds of those against whom they are armed. A file of armed men, in the costume of peace and trade, cannot fail to excite more hatred than fear, to stir up a rivalry in their opponents, and remind them that "two can play at that game." When two parties are seen encountering one another in the streets in similar dress and arms, the momentous differences of obedience and rebellion, loyalty and treason, just authority and illegal resistance, will soon be incalculably diminished in the estimation of the people. These armed associations, therefore, must turn into a national guard in a national uniform; and it will soon be found that they must adopt, and mainly depend upon, the most efficacious arms of modern warfare, the musket and the bayonet; since, as we have observed, their strength against a numerous and angry mob will consist in the phalanx.

Government, it is true, does not at present profess to admit this result, and on one occasion, which has come to our know-

ledge, it has refused this more warlike, though, for that very reason, more merciful, description of arms. Let us therefore follow into action the force as it now exists: for it must be remembered that, while we are writing, the magistrates of not a few towns have in their possession a numerous roll of special constables under oath to answer their summons and obey their orders; a list of persons, selected from that roll, and pledged by their own word to bear arms against the populace whenever called upon; parties of men under actual drill; and a magazine of pistols and cutlasses, which they may distribute to this most anomalous force whenever they please.\* Let us follow this force into action, and see whether it will not, must not, turn into a national guard. Mr. Mortar is a respectable chemist and druggist, of known conservative predilections, but at present with little opportunity of developing those feelings, except in quietly compassionating the poorer classes of his fellow townsmen; first, for being poor; secondly, for being the dupes of their betters. He usually spends his evenings "in the bosom of his family," which is numerous enough to exempt him in conscience from any service of danger, but not yet enough advanced in years to furnish an adequate substitute. Ten years ago he was sworn in a special constable, in which capacity he has assisted at several grand processions, and been several times summoned to help in restoring the peace after the radical meetings in the town hall, just as doctors are called in after a surfeit, for cure, not for prevention. He is waited upon by two members of the town council, one of them a radical mill owner, who professes himself to be so frightened by the aspect of the times, as to be becoming "quite a conservative;" the other, a conservative surgeon, who talks loud and acts at random, and

\* The Return, whose title we have prefixed to these observations, did not appear till some time after they were all on paper. As it was moved for and laid on the table of the House of Commons within twenty-four hours, and that at the close of the session, there would be some excuse for mere partial incompleteness; but we cannot divine on what principle only two associations actually formed, and one attempted, are confessed to, when to our certain knowledge at the time of our writing associations had been formed, and were being formed in several other places, and there had been several long correspondences with the Home Secretary on the subject. At the time of our writing, several bodies of men had been recently enrolled, armed, and were under drill, in consequence of Lord John Russell's letters. The following, however, is the whole of the *public* return, as far at least as we can gather from the newspapers:—

"An association at Pontypool, and another at Monmouth, on the application and recommendation of the lord lieutenant of the county. The members of the associations supplied with cutlasses and pistols by order of the Secretary of State.

"An association was formed at Mansfield, on the recommendation of the lord lieutenant of the county, but separated on the refusal of the Secretary of State to order muskets to be applied for their use—cutlasses and pistols only being offered.

"Whitehall, 21st Aug. 1839."

"S. M. PHILIPS."



who is proud of officiating as the corporation's decoy duck on the present occasion. They produce the Home Secretary's wise and pacific design, and by way of a preliminary step towards its fulfilment, they solicit Mr. Mortar, as one who values public order, and his own life and property, to subscribe a written requisition to the mayor and other civic magistrates, urging them to form, without delay, an armed association for the protection of those desirable objects. In this particular interview, they are content to keep in the back-ground the fact, that the measure has been already discussed by the corporation, and warmly embraced to its fullest extent of a national guard, and that the very document they are requesting Mr. Mortar to sign, was drawn up in a private room at the town hall, by able hands, with a most careful reference to the tactics of whiggery. They know full well that nothing coming from that quarter can ever be made to appear either lovely or judicious in conservative eyes. There are, however, other rocks to steer clear of, viz., certain stirring questions of politics and religion, on which the corporation is at this moment designing to act, petition, address, &c. in the directest possible contrariety to Mr. Mortar's known convictions and desires; though it warily defers these obnoxious proceedings just for a few short weeks, till it has secured for the notable scheme in agitation a sufficient number of conservative signatures. Its two emissaries, in accordance with this apparent suspension of hostilities, represent to our friend that this is a time in which all minor differences should be forgotten in comparison with the one paramount object of the public safety; that all respectable men should agree to preserve that in which all are equally interested: and besides these arguments, so familiar to the tongues of men who have a point to carry, they seize such opportunities as may occur for a little personal flattery. They are quite mistaken in their man, yet they succeed. Mr. Mortar distrusts and dislikes the two persons before him, despising the heart of the one and the understanding of the other; with no less suspicion does he view the scheme they are proposing; he inwardly rejects their arguments, and loathes their sinister modes of persuasion. But he is deficient in the power of saying no; and has besides a romantic sense of duty, which makes him hate to be backward when trouble and annoyance are concerned. As a loyal man, he also reasons that the actual governors of his country recommend such associations generally, and the actual authorities of his town consider one necessary to that place in particular; and his sacred obligation to "the powers that be" dictates the conclusion. So eventually his politeness constrains him to tolerate the persons who address him, and his patriotism swallows the plan they propose. They leave

the house with a declaration in black and white of his extreme desire that the corporation will allow him an opportunity of putting his life in jeopardy in defence of them, and the present delectable order of things. The corporation kindly consents, calls a meeting, and enrolls the name of our requisitionist, and some hundred others, who promise to be forthcoming whenever called upon. Mr. Mortar has now time to reflect, and the more he does so, the less he likes what he has done. He ponders over the sweets of ten years' concession; he remembers what persons were the first authors of Chartism and the doctrine of physical force; and what persons he is really going to fight for: while a passing thought on his share in the public honours, viz., total exclusion from office and influence, with a plentiful allowance of danger, reminds him of the homely proverb, "More kicks than ha'pence." But he is a man of honour, and does not retract. His thoughts now very naturally turn to the propriety of some kind of preparation, that his services to the state may be as efficient as possible, not to speak of his own safety. He has hitherto never handled any more dangerous weapon than the pestle or the spatula, with an occasional attempt at the lancet; and he has had nothing to do with powder, except in making up medical prescriptions, and concocting the effervescent description of beverages. How is he then to prepare? He feels this to be a serious question, especially when he reflects that one of the arguments used to procure his name, was that the enemy possessed arms, and was already in full drill. No surgeon, he reflects, ever practises on even an unresisting patient, without a previous training, much more is a little dexterity and experience necessary for that very ticklish class of operations, in which the relative position of operator and patient is not yet admitted by both parties, and in fact the very question to be decided is, which shall be the operator and which the patient. The mayor only undertakes to find time and opportunity, and contemporaneously with them the weapons of war, but kindly leaves to Mr. Mortar to find himself and his own military education. Having therefore an occasion to send an order to his cutler at Sheffield for divers surgical instruments, he appends the following unusual item, being the articles in which, after some inquiry, he finds he would do well to acquire a little expertness. "Also a cutlass, and a brace of pistols, not hair-triggers, and warranted not to burst." The box arrives, and, contrary to custom, is opened, not by the apprentice in the shop, but by the master in his bed-chamber, not without an undefined sense of guilt. His next step is to engage the services of the very respectable drill-serjeant who attends a neighbouring boarding-school, to impart to its fair occupants those graces of deportment, which

the religious views of that establishment will not allow to be learnt by the more ordinary exercise of dancing. Under his able, and frequently painful instructions, Mr. Mortar makes sufficient progress to lose all confidence in himself, to discover that swords are of no use except in the hand of a soldier, and to be still more thankful than ever for his own early choice of a more peaceful profession. But his attainments, whatever they be, are soon brought to a severe test. A periodical fit of sedition seizes the town; and our chivalrous friend is summoned to the service, with the threat of a fine in case of non-compliance. He is ordered, with others, to parade a certain district, at first without arms, and by the time he has done this every evening for a week, he has just scraped together the following particulars respecting the army in which he is serving, in addition to what he has known all along, viz., that the commander-in-chief, *i. e.* the mayor, is a man without an atom of principle or discretion: he ascertains that he is himself No. 35, Section D, in South Bridge Ward; that the leader of his ward, whose commission by-the-by is just five days old, is a certain dissenting brewer, by whom he has lost money, and the leader of his section is a well-known seditious butcher; that his comrades are a motley collection of prentice lads, old pensioners, footmen and gardeners, with a sprinkling of people of his own class, all like him conservatives, but none of them more to be depended on in the hour of battle than he is conscious of being himself. Not a few of his section he finds, to his discomfort, are, with scarce an attempt at concealment, Chartists, or “sympathisers” with that cause. Bye-and-bye the mob, which has hitherto confined itself to flags, speeches, firing pistols in the air, and such ominous menaces, is incited to more overt acts. Whereupon the special constables are suddenly armed; Section D. is sent at 10 o’clock P.M. to a distant part of the town to assist in quelling a riot, and before No. 35 has time to look about him, he finds himself under orders, with the rest, to clear a crowded street sword in hand. Section D. advances, and the mob retreats to the right and the left up the side lanes, from which it keeps up a constant fire of missiles. Some of the constables fire their pistols, but happily without effect. Our hero is hastily detached, with a dozen others, into one of the side lanes. He encounters a shower of sharp broken stones picked up, as fast they are thrown, from one of those convenient magazines of destruction, Mr. M’Adam’s road heaps. While some of his comrades are stunned, some maimed, some lamed, some blinded, and all are thrown into confusion and brought to a halt, his own valour urges him on till he finds himself, and is found by the foe, all alone. He immediately becomes the object of unenviable distinction, “the

observed of all observers," and is surrounded. Driven to bay, his first impulse is to keep off the multitude by pointing his pistol with one hand, and his sword with the other, (most fatal unreservedness of resources!) and then revolving like a tetotum, so as, if possible, to front all sides at once. This extempore improvement on the worthy non-commissioned officer's instructions fails of the success it deserves. The mob at first recoils a little from the desperate man; but seeing a something in his movements, terrible as they are, which still indicates a fear of hurting any body, and betrays that "tenderness still blunts the edge of wrath," they close upon him; and the next moment he lies on his back, with a tremendous hydrostatic pressure of Chartists on all sides of him, and nothing within him to sustain that pressure but the magnanimity of his soul. Now we verily believe that any man, especially a fellow townsman, who should fall into such a predicament in the very act of using deadly weapons against an unarmed mob, would stand little chance of his life: so strongly is mankind possessed with the maxim that it is quite fair to make an ill device recoil upon its user's head. But we will not needlessly shock our reader with so serious a conclusion. We will suppose an English mob, rough and violent, and reckless of property, as it is, still to retain its instinctive horror of blood; and Mr. Mortar to be only very handsomely pounded; so much so, indeed, that he does not know where he is for four and twenty hours, it is a week before all his senses have come straggling in, and by the end of six months he is only just able to stand behind his counter. But the worst remains to be told. His calamity is itself an unhappy distinction. It is remembered as long as he lives that he once bore arms against the people, towards whom however he never felt the smallest spark of malignity: and the next time the mayor, who has perhaps himself in his un-official days urged the people to the use of physical force, and perhaps even offered to supply them with "the right sort" at twelve and sixpence a piece, leaves the town in a state of riot, to which he has thus himself been instrumental, and orders the police not to act in his absence, the populace take advantage of the golden moment, and make a general illumination at the expense of Mr. Mortar's house and furniture.

A Roman emperor was once present at the combats in the amphitheatre. The usual number of gladiators and wild beasts had fought with the usual variety of combinations, and the usual alternations of success. But even carnage, as well as preaching, is apt to fatigue the attention, if continued beyond just limits; and the emperor's eyes began to wander over the crowded benches of the spectators in quest of some new interest. They chanced to

rest on a sleek and merry citizen, who surrounded by his wife and children was watching the bloody scene with an unabated eagerness of curiosity, and an unsubdued expression of delight, which indicated that the costly spectacle was really a treat to him, and a real relief to the dull monotony of his usual avocations. The man was evidently enjoying to the full that secure contemplation of the mortal dangers of others, which Lucretius describes as so highly pleasurable. The philosophic poet does not add that some minds feel a corresponding pain when they witness pleasures in which they have themselves no share. However that may be, certain it was that in the present instance, the imperial *ennuyé* was moved with envy at the sight before him, and pointing out the unfortunate citizen to his attendants, said, "Put a sword into that man's hand, and let him fight a lion." We forget the result, but the odds must have been sufficiently in favour of the quadruped, to make the biped very uneasy at the sudden change in his prospects. The Conservatives are now pretty much, it appears to us, in the predicament of this poor man. A liberal despotism has been turning the kingdom upside down for this last nine years, moving, encouraging, and rewarding every species of rebellion to effect their ends, and has now enjoyed the sweets of office almost to satiety. To relieve their tedium they first deliberately let loose the Chartist in our streets, and while the Conservatives are flattering themselves, deluded wretches! that excluded as they are from the race for power and honour, they have at least some compensation in the security and irresponsibility of private life, Emperor Lord John Russell sends word to the magistrates that if the principal inhabitants, i.e. the Conservatives, wish to preserve their lives and properties, they must take swords in their hands and fight the mob.

The true state of the case is as follows. Some years ago a few highly respectable gentlemen of rank and fashion, and another set of gentlemen quite as respectable, but rather more numerous, in the lower walks of life, had been for some time arriving at a pretty strong conviction, sufficiently strong as they thought to justify acting upon it, that the country was not governed quite as well as it might be, and that they saw a way of conducting that business better than the old fashioned folks then at the head of affairs. Feeling therefore persuaded that their own private advancement had become identical with the good of the country, they put their heads together, and by alternately coaxing and bullying, promising and threatening, they contrived by hook or by crook to oust the old stagers, and to seat themselves very comfortably in their places. At first they were a good deal incommoded and straitened in their movements by their predecessors,

who, having a sort of liking for the spot where they had been settled so long, kept hanging about, looking in at the windows, and trying the handle of the door. At last however the party in possession, which proved in their case nine-tenths of the law, made "a long pull, &c." and lugged in the Reform Bill, or "the people's charter," as it was humorously called at the time, which settled things very comfortably, and what was still better entirely settled the Tories for the present at least. The latter gentry indeed fell to such a terrible discount, that like a coach which has got a bad character on the road and does not fill, they were soon ashamed of their name, and called themselves Conservatives. This looked like coming round to the Whigs, as much as to say, "There is no such great difference between us; your principle being 'Get what you can,' ours 'Keep what you've got.'" But whatever this trick was meant for, it did not answer, or as our friends at New York would say, "they took no change by it." So they went to a little distance and stood with their hands in their pockets, waiting to see what would come of it, and thinking it not unlikely that the other party being rather new at the work, might make a few mistakes, or perhaps quarrel about the division of spoil. The Whigs meanwhile, and their respectable friends the Radicals, who were no more ashamed of their name than a bull dog is of his peculiar physiognomy, had time to look about them, and set to work. As might be expected the presence of consummate virtue and discretion was soon perceived in every department of government, and in all the institutions of the country, such at least as were suffered to remain; for as many of them were found very old and a good deal the worse for wear, it was thought less trouble and expense to sell them for what the materials would fetch, and have new ones altogether with the latest improvements. But it is a strange thing that people cannot go on long without something uncomfortable happening. Do what they would, these gentlemen could not perform all they undertook, though they had promised nothing but what was all right and proper. Nobody could tell how it was; whether it was that the Conservatives, who were up to all kinds of tricks, "put something into it," or whether there is something wrong in the nature of things, which prevents good plans from working as they ought to do; for it is not at all likely the Whigs should make any mistake about it, who had gone over the calculation so often, and knew that it must come true. It is just possible indeed that as they say, "It's wonderful how little wisdom the world is governed with," so the Whigs may have used a little too much of that article in the business, and may have rather overdone the thing with philosophy. We all know that philosophy, especially when it is

got very pure and strong at the best shops, such as the *Edinburgh and Westminster Review*, is somewhat like pepper in soup, and cinnamon in puddings. Cooks should be careful how they use it, as a very little does. All this of course is the world's fault, not the Whigs': and perhaps it must be confessed that that heavy old animal is not quite sound, and therefore ought to be driven rather gently over the stones. One thing that stood in their way was, that they could not get all the nations of the earth to take our manufactures and pay for them also. It was no wonder indeed that so bigoted a nation as China, that is as old as the time of Noah, and has got more and more stupid every day, should refuse to dress like Christians, and get their things from Leeds and Manchester: but even the United States, who are, next ourselves, the most virtuous and enlightened people on the face of the earth, requited our liberal government a shrewd turn for its sympathies. The whole nation suddenly broke altogether by common consent, paid not quite sixpence in the pound for a year's supply of our commodities, and most exceedingly astonished our merchants and manufacturers. To make the matter worse, they spent all the money gained by this transaction in buying up the cotton, whether in doors, or out of doors, whether grown, growing, or to be grown, that they could lay their hands upon; which they now will not let us have at any price, so that our manufactories are almost forced to stand idle. Our merchants, it is true, have found out a weak point in those stubborn Chinese, and are turning an honest penny by drugging them with opium; as also by supplying the negro nations with muskets and powder to be exchanged for slaves; but had it not been for these pieces of luck, we should have had scarcely any place to send our ships to. The result of all this has been plenty of starvation, the victims of which have the equivocal consolation of being assured that, as is always said when a steam-engine blows up, it is nobody's fault, it could not be helped or provided against, and may happen again any moment without the least warning. So far, meanwhile, from the Whigs keeping to their first understanding of dividing with their radical brethren, in case of a famine, all the ship's provisions, "share and share alike," they have dealt them harder measure than was ever dreamed of under the obsolete system; and have shut up all who wanted bread, like so many lepers, in certain piles of brick, to which the poor have given a name more expressive of their own antipathies, than of the benevolent intentions of the founders. To be sure, the operatives were assured on the best authority that this was only to inculcate that independence which they had all along been demanding: and if the Tories chanced to act otherwise, it was only from their tyrannical principle of oppressing and gagging all who showed

the least spark of proper spirit ; and then thinking to make up for it by encouraging in a base dependence a set of servile, helpless, destitute wretches, old men and women and little children, merely because they could not wag a tongue against them. But still hunger prevailed over reason : the operatives rebelled, and resorted as of old to the teaching of demagogues. For some time their quondam allies tried to stifle their murmurs by promoting the most notorious and influential of the said demagogues to riches and honour, making them, in the plenitude of their power, commissioners, mayors, aldermen, &c. ; but it was soon found that this was as ineffectual as the attempt to clear a grass plat of plantain weed. From the roots of every one thus raised from the ranks of sedition, ten new ones sprang up. So after every thing else had been tried in vain, and the Radicals were only worse, and on the very point of lending a helping hand to the Conservatives, the Whigs thought nothing remained to be done, but to show fight to their old friends : they also reflected that it would not be unwise, if feasible, to draw their inveterate enemies the Conservatives into standing the brunt of the battle. It has indeed, till this most delectable era, been the invariable rule of mankind, that public wealth and rank, and public care and danger, should go together. Thus Sarpedon reminds his colleague Glaucus that they were bound in common decency to expose their lives in the front of the Lycian host, at the storming of the Grecian camp ; because they two were enjoying the highest honours at home, in precedence, in a double portion of meat at the public entertainments and the size of their goblets, possessing also large domains of vineyard, oliveyard, and arable, and moreover honoured as divinities : and he further suggests that they must not expect to escape envy for these distinctions, if they do not take a pre-eminence and double share in danger as well as in honour. Such was the old rule. But our present ministers, with their still more powerful partizans in the cities and boroughs, reserve to themselves the sweet kernel of dignity and authority, modestly proposing that the principal and most trustworthy people of the land shall stand as the rough husk about it. A council of Radicals and semi-Chartists is to be perched aloft in the town hall, arranging the affairs of the town at their pleasure, levying enormous rates to be spent in jobbing and litigation, selling the churches and plundering their ancient incomes, cashiering the lecturers and suppressing the lectures themselves, seizing the charitable funds left by church people for the use of distressed members of their communion, turning out the stipendiaries of the old corporation, and if a flaw can be found in the act of parliament defrauding them of their legal compensation, besides not a few



other acts of folly and injustice, and sending the mayor with civic pomp to the Unitarian meeting-house; while the principal inhabitants of the town, the pillars of society, men of real substance, ability, and moral worth, are forsooth to stand guard to their high-and-mightinesses, the mayor, aldermen, and common council, and to exchange blows, sabre cuts, and bullets with the rabble below.

This is but scurvy usage of the simple-minded Radicals. The aristocratic gentlemen we have been speaking of had fraternized with them, written confidential and affectionate letters to their secretaries, franked their correspondence, graciously received their deputations, puffed off their great meetings, declaring them to be a legitimate mode of influencing the legislature, and, besides that, had given a heap of promises, which it would take from this to doomsday, and absolute controul over the elements, to fulfil; but when the bills became due, and the dupes were eagerly expecting "a substantial reform of all real grievances," namely, hunger, thirst, cold, and nakedness,—their old friends in Downing Street suddenly turn round and give them the cut direct, protest they have not the pleasure of their acquaintance, treat them as if they were so many mad dogs, and call out to the Conservatives to come and help in knocking them on the head, and cutting them to pieces.

But who are meant by the principal and most trustworthy inhabitants of towns and populous districts? The noble writer of the letters we have quoted evidently means by the terms a class numerous enough to furnish a regiment within easy distance of the probable scenes of riot,—“an Armed Association;” and accordingly they to whom the letters are addressed, and who must be presumed to interpret them correctly, understand even operatives to be comprehended in the terms. But it is easier to say who are *not* meant, than who are; in other words, it is easier to say who will *not* enrol, than who will. The loudest talkers for the project, and the most zealous recruiting officers, are observed to be just those who from age, infirmity, office or profession, are necessarily exempt from service. The magistrates of course cannot serve, and the whole corporation is generally disposed to shield themselves under their judicial or legislative character. No mill-owner in his senses will bear arms against his own men, or openly compromise himself in this plan, though he may perhaps be glad enough to see it kindly undertaken by others. His factory, to which his thoughts are always turned with more than maternal anxiety, is sufficient pledge to the populace for his good behaviour towards them. He also generally has either himself been an operative to begin with, or is only one or two generations removed from that class; and he is, moreover, disposed to sympathize

with them on most political questions. Again, though Homer's physicians, Podalirius and Machaon, fought with the rest, our medical men very justly think themselves better occupied in healing wounds than in giving or receiving them. We suspect also that the lawyers will in general be found to prefer a consultation to a fight. The more numerous class of shopkeepers are dependent for their living on the good-will and custom of those very men, against whom the armed association is directed: and nearly all the operatives, even the most respectable, are under a system of terror, and are generally forced contributors to a Chartist, or some similar fund. That most needful precaution that arms shall not get into the wrong hands will suggest a very spare and select application to this latter class. We believe it will be found that none but persons in peculiar circumstances;—here and there a man who happens to be somewhat independent of the peculiar system and connections of a manufacturing town will be either proper or willing members of the civic corps. And who can deny that such men will, almost to a man, be found Conservatives? In one instance an influential Conservative, who on former occasions had distinguished himself by his successful efforts in the maintenance of the public peace, was urged by the authorities of a Whig corporation to officiate as a recruiting serjeant for the purpose we are discussing. He first wished to stipulate for a Whig colleague in the task, but none could be found. He therefore took good pains to inculcate, wherever he went, that he was acting only as the agent of the magistrates. But he was eventually obliged to resign his undertaking, on finding that, after all, none but Conservatives were chivalrous enough to enter a service of such thankless trouble and danger. As long as the Armed Association is confined to its first, its most unpleasant, and most dangerous object, viz. preserving life and property from popular outrage, it will be maintained, if it is persisted in, chiefly by Conservatives. When it becomes more than this, a trained militia, a warlike display, a rebellious boast, a threat in the face of religion or royalty, then we shall see what share Conservatives are allowed to retain in it.

But there is a part of our subject which deserves a fuller consideration than the few passing allusions we have already made. We mean the *moral* effect of introducing war into our streets, and that war in a common form and civil class:—the change for the worse which familiarity with arms is likely to bring about in the English character.

We will premise that man is by nature an inoffensive animal. He has neither sting, nor tusks, nor claws, nor hoofs, nor horns. Every part and function of his body seems directed to peace and

usefulness. He is able, of course, to improve his natural powers to some extent into means of offence, to clench his fists and so forth ; but in order to be very hurtful and destructive, he must *add* by art to his existing means, and, so to speak, increase the number of his organs. He can wear a sword or a pistol ; and when he does this, having been born a lamb, he becomes by art a wild boar or a tiger. When the additional member is once assumed, nature adapts herself to it with wonderful ease and perfection. Habit, they say, is second nature ; and an instrument of death habitually worn, whatever it is, be it bow, or rifle, or bludgeon, or sword, or dagger, or pistol, becomes to all intents and purposes part of the body. In the moment of anger or alarm, thought and passion fly at once to the weapon as the most congenial part of the system, and long to vent themselves in a thrust or blow ; as in Virgil's bull, which learns to direct its fury towards its horns (*irasci in cornua discit*). The body is even quicker than the mind, and is independent of it, in this act. Charles XII. was found with his hand on his sword, though in his case death was its own messenger, and he had not time to know that he was struck : from long use it had become a habit of the body for the hand to fly to the hilt in such emergencies. Thus, as is often said, a soldier's arms are part of his body ; just as our clothing becomes in effect a natural integument. He feels himself to be mutilated or naked without them. This acquired sympathy or adaptation of the body to the use of an offensive instrument pervades the whole system, and especially the most spiritual parts, the face, the voice, and the carriage, which are of course the most susceptible of such influences. For there is a certain law in the habits of body and mind, like that observed by comparative anatomists, by which the difference of a tooth, or a claw, or a particular kind of food, is known to imply a corresponding difference in every other joint and organ of the whole animal structure. A man who always has a brace of loaded pistols about him, becomes altogether different, i. e. the whole of his bodily and mental system changes into unison with the adscititious organ. He alters his species. He ceases to be simply a man, and becomes a wearer of pistols. His features and his tone of voice express readiness to shed blood ; just as Providence has imprinted ferocity in the aspect and roar of a lion. Hence that kind of freemasonry by which wearers of arms seem to know one another, and to find one another out in the crowd. The minds of such men retain always a certain pervading consciousness of their being armed, whether with the actual weapon or with skill in the use of it, which moulds all their thoughts and feelings. Their imaginations dwell on extreme cases, on acts of offence

and defence. Not only in the very moment of actual menace, insult, or danger, but in the contemplation of these things, they habitually conceive only one way of encountering them, viz. the point, or the bullet: they overleap, they overlook, all the other ways of meeting such accidents familiar to Christian men, such as forgiveness, concession, explanation, mental dexterity, soft words and the like. Thus it comes to pass that men in the habit of wearing arms ever so secretly, seem, somehow, without any apparent fault of their own, but as it were by a kind of fatality, to get into more scrapes than other people: a fact so notorious, that as a matter of common calculation the best way of escaping danger and insult appears to be not to provide against them. Men who have learnt the use of their fists or other means of offence, are sure to recommend the accomplishment to others, by declaring how frequently it has stood them in good service. In truth such gifts are seldom thrown away. The possessor, having always a secret inclination to use them, will be sure sometimes to feel an adequate stimulus, or find a fitting occasion.

For it must be confessed, that in the corrupt fountain of human nature there exists a large amount of destructiveness, which a very little encouragement will bring into action. After an elementary course of sticks and stones, many a schoolboy's earliest object of ambition is a pistol, which he learns to point at a tree or a sign-post, in the pleasing imagination that it is a fellow creature whom he is justified in slaying. By and by succeed the murderous sports of the field, which are so strong a passion in many men, that some writers have not hesitated to say that man is naturally an animal of prey, intended to live by chase. That enormous folly, which will have been perpetrated at Eglintoun Castle when these pages are before the public eye, and for which we are tempted, from the kindest feelings, to wish all the evil that wind and weather can do it, is proof enough that the most peaceful and luxurious times cannot efface the love of violence and bloodshed, if it be only palliated by some fair disguise. We cannot help asking, by the way, in what respect does such an exhibition differ from a prize-fight? and whether it is not equally contrary to the law of the land, and under the cognizance of the justices of the peace? It is strange that the only restoration of antique usages which the fashionable world will tolerate is one which the written word of God, and the frequent and express decrees of the Catholic Church, agree in denouncing. But to resume; as another sad proof how large a magazine of mischief there is in the human heart, and how small a train may explode it, we will mention the sad effects left in the minds of even the quieter sort of people, by having witnessed mob outrages, and

being under the apparent necessity of making some provision against them. The seeming justifiableness of the occasion painfully discloses the inward appetite for destruction and revenge; and the kindest and most peaceable men begin to talk of grape and canister, besides various private devices for slaughter on a large scale, as if their miserable fellow townsmen were only so many wild ducks, or a gang of the most murderous brigands.

England, however, is comparatively clear of this sin, and long may it so continue, spite of the un-English men who, by the mysterious dispensations of Providence, are now permitted to tamper with the national character. We have not space for the inquiry whence we derive this happiness. We do not owe it to the peculiarity of an insular position, and remoteness from the great scene of war;—circumstances, which we see in the case of Ireland, only serve to coop up, and render more vindictive and bloody the two miserable factions always in arms, either secret or open, against one another. However it is, though we have our crying sins, blood-guiltiness does not yet seem the defilement of our land. Life is precious here, and is rarely aimed at either in public or private quarrels. Knives and daggers indeed, as instruments of private revenge, have of late years been making their appearance, we know not how or whence;—a fearful sort of prodigy, a foreign wonder, breaking out like a plague among us in many places all at once, with no visible source or train of infection; or as if it were a scent from the grave, ominous of some coming era of strife and bloodshed. But, judging from past experience, an English mob always vents its rage on property, and *never* deliberately murders, very rarely even hurts the person. A thousand years of our history will scarcely furnish an instance of a massacre by the people; and perhaps for nearly two centuries there has never been such danger to any individual as to make flight necessary. We know not whether we may go back still further. In general a man may sit quietly in his parlour, till every window of his house is broken, or even walk out at the front door in the face of his assailants without any serious molestation. When, as sometimes unhappily has occurred at elections and other times of excitement, men have conceived their lives to be in danger, and have accordingly prepared themselves with arms to exhibit in case of need, the weapon of death has been wrested from them with universal horror as soon as seen, and immediately the parties have changed sides; an outrageous and seemingly lawless mob becomes at once the righteous appellant, and he who was their victim stands confessed the culprit. In such cases the mob has been known to desist in a moment from further violence or insult, and instead of seeking revenge, have

thought they had revenge enough in a triumph of law and humanity. But, we earnestly inquire, how long are these noble feelings likely to last, if ever the populace should see the wealthier classes armed against them, master against man, broadcloth against fustian, the ten-pounders against the unrepresented? Could any one have thought it possible that men who had been employed so many years in the attempt, or pretended attempt, to close the long and harrowing series of retaliation in Ireland and in Spain, and who therefore ought to know how hard a thing it is to stay, when once begun, should wantonly originate a like series, open the detestable fountain of a like river of blood in this hitherto bloodless country! Let us consider what has actually been done in many of our manufacturing towns and districts. A magazine of arms has been procured, and is now in constant readiness to be employed against the operatives by the principal inhabitants and such resident householders as the mayor or the magistrates feel most confidence in. Can any one suppose that the operatives will suffer the balance of preparation to be against them in this respect, especially when we remember *where* in England arms are made, and who the persons are that make them? \* By the bye, it is only a few years since that various depots of arms about the country were transferred for safety to the Tower. Those provincial depots were under the care of small detachments of the regulars. Is the country in a less excited state now than it was then? Are the malcontents fewer or less to be dreaded, or less disposed to such a precious capture; or the custody of these new magazines, viz. the fidelity, courage, and discretion of the new civic magistrates, more to be depended on? †

\* The following resolution passed at a meeting of the Conventionists is a very fair satire on the project we are canvassing, and in our opinion speaks favourably for the good humour of these wrong-headed people:—

“That the National Convention, being an association for the protection of life and property, deems it its duty to apply to Lord John Russell, according to his notification, for the necessary sum for providing 1,250,000 stand of arms, with commissariat, ammunition, &c., suitable to the emergency.”

† The new corporations certainly have shown but little of that ability to stand “the pressure from without,” which is found so necessary to men in office, and which the old corporations for centuries possessed so thoroughly that nobody gave them credit for it: just as Atlas bears the world so easily on his shoulders that nobody thinks it can be much of a burden to him. Mr. Scholfield, the first mayor of Birmingham, has just offered a sad illustration of the truth that successful agitators are apt to turn out indifferent rulers, and speechmakers are seldom practical men. On the occasion we refer to he has exhibited considerably more of that subtlety which shines in argument, than of the sound discretion whose proper sphere is action. We know not whether our readers are likely to have seen his letter to the Home Office, vindicating his rather extraordinary behaviour. It is too long to insert here, but the following are the chief topics of his defence. 1st, That he had *not* given to the superintendent of the London police the alleged instructions to do nothing without orders from the magistrates. 2ndly, That though he did give these instructions to the superintendent,

But to proceed,—parties of “principal inhabitants” are being drilled under written orders from the mayors, and in one town, Barnsley, we believe, have been actually informed against for infringement of the act. Who can doubt, that if one side drills, the other will also, and ten times the more for having the example set them? Before long, blood will be shed in our streets. Shocking though it be, we really think it would be better for the peace of the country that it should be the blood of those who were the first openly to arm and to drill, viz. the “Armed Associations.” If any of the Chartists fall by their pistols and cutlasses, we predict a melancholy series, whose infinitely increasing terms it will take all the clerks in the Home Department and Treasury besides to calculate. And when the future poet asks (τίς τ’ ἄρ’ σφῶε θεῶν κ.τ.λ.) Who set them first together by the ears? the answer will be, Lord John Russell. A pretty employment, forsooth, for a peacemaking home secretary, a man of foolscap and red tape, to be sowing dragon’s teeth in the streets of our cities! A most suitable termination, truly, of those fatal concessions began ten years ago for the very purpose of preventing a civil war in Ireland!

A due regard to the infinite preciousness of life compared with property seems to require that the means in ordinary use to protect the latter shall not endanger the former, even though it be the life of the aggressor. This principle has been lately recognized in many important instances. It is no longer considered right to award the extreme punishment of death in cases where it is not warranted by divine authority, or on such secular grounds as the frequency or the facility of the offence. We no longer sacrifice our fellow-creatures for the preservation of commercial credit, or set them against horses and sheep, or shoot them down, and mangle them in traps, like vermin, for the sake of pheasants and hares. Of course such offences against property as directly involve the probable destruction of life, partake of the character of murder; we may therefore both punish them with death, and provide against them with means dangerous to the life of the offender. Now we maintain, that our manufacturing populace,

the latter, under the particular circumstances, ought not to have obeyed them. 3rdly, That though he had not given the superintendent those instructions, still, under the circumstances, the police were quite right in not interfering with the mob, as it was much too strong for them.

This reminds us of a famous American defence. A man charged his neighbour with returning spoilt a kettle which he had lent him sound. On which the said neighbour puts into court the following pleas, leaving them to settle with one another as well as they can. 1st, That the kettle was spoilt before he borrowed it. 2ndly, That it was sound when he returned it. 3rdly, That the kettle had never been lent to him at all.

though it may on occasion be suddenly excited to outrages of the latter class, viz. those directly against property, but dangerous also to life, does nevertheless ordinarily, as a body, shrink from personal violence. During the frequent general strikes of late years, thousands have been known to starve for months on the wretched pittance doled out from the precarious funds of the unions, while the masters with whom they were at variance might walk the streets at all hours secure from either hurt or insult. The war was carried on not in the streets, but in the columns of newspapers. The masters formed an array of signatures, and kept up a fire of manifestos against the operatives, who, confining their hostility to the same weapons, suffered themselves at last to be beaten by the arguments, or starved out by the patience, of the enemy. We are not aware that it is now so much as pretended that any man's life is in danger. Whatever one or two Chartist leaders may say, or intend, whom, by the bye, a few months' reflection at the tread wheel would soon bring to their senses, we do not believe that the populace think of arms, except as means of securing from interruption their fancied liberty of public meetings. It appears then unwise and unchristian to use against them means of defence more dangerous and destructive than the occasion requires. We do not feel our lives to be really menaced, therefore we have no legitimate call to menace the lives of our assailants. Here is no public enemy, but a rabble of deluded men quarrelling with the existing arrangements of wealth and political privileges. They are, it is true, prepared to deal rather recklessly with "vested interests," as it is the fashion now to call our houses and our fields, in the pursuit of their wild schemes; and we admit, it is not unlikely that if they had their way one month, our lives would not be worth another month's purchase. Still they are not as yet seeking our lives, and are not now in the mind to take our lives even if they could; and by arming ourselves against them we only make the matter worse, we precipitate the quarrel, we ripen hostility, we change the subject from property to life, and hasten things onward to a stage in which we might wish our hearts out, and wish in vain, that we could retrace our steps to where we now stand, and had never touched a weapon of death. In the present state of the case, when our lives are not in real and imminent danger, but only our property, it does seem, according to the humane principles now admitted into our penal enactments, that any sacrifice of life by us will hardly be free from the guilt of murder. *Protective* means should be as little destructive as possible, for even in war it is the rule of civilized nations to hurt no more than is absolutely necessary. The "Armed Association for the Protec-



tion of Life and Property," if it be brought into action, will seem at once to belie its name, like that horrid little instrument designated we suppose, *quasi lucus*, &c., a life-preserver, but which has really much more right to be called a life destroyer.

From what we have said, we shall readily be believed, when we say that we think the strong arm, or rather steel and bullet, the very worst way of extinguishing popular disorders, even at the best, i. e. when conducted in the most expert, merciful and palatable manner, by regular soldiery: like the amputation of a limb, though it be ever so unavoidable, that circumstance does not prevent it from being a grievous injury. It cannot but harden and embitter the hearts of men. It is dreadful to reflect on a general order being issued by the commander-in-chief with regard to our fellow townsmen, which one shudders to think of, even where Napoleon's legions are the subject of it,—the order to aim at the middle of the person. And yet that was really a merciful and necessary order. Blank cartridges only encourage the mob to further resistance, and make them incredulous of peril when the wolf is really come. Firing over the head is a deliberate murder of the innocent instead of the guilty. But in whatever way it comes to pass, the loss of life or limb has always been chiefly of this character: women with children in their arms, prentice lads, and unconcerned spectators have generally fallen instead of the actual ringleaders and workers of sedition, who know better what they are about and what turn things are taking, and so are better able to dodge the military. Folly and idle curiosity, or, at most, love of mischief has suffered instead of rebellion. When force however must be resorted to, there are many considerations in favour of the regular military over any civil force which could be devised. For example, it does its work well and clean in a mechanical point of view, by its perfect discipline. As the first, the most frequent and most obvious purpose of its existence is the protection of the realm from foreign foes, it seems diverted from its purpose, and used accidentally and irregularly in domestic troubles; it is not therefore, in the very sight of it, a memento and provocation of internal disunion. When it is used on such melancholy occasions it acts simply as preserver of the public peace, and cannot be viewed in the obnoxious aspect of a vindicator of private interest, a political or local partizan. The Home Secretary has indeed adduced many arguments against the use of the regulars for the suppression of popular menace and outrage, even in the case of their mere presence being likely to accomplish the desired effect; arguments chiefly founded on the danger of the soldiers falling into a bad state of discipline by being quartered out of barracks; as if they were a book in too handsome a binding to be

ever read, or a pair of scissors too highly polished to be trusted out of its case. He has also so far acted on these reasons, as to refuse for months repeated applications for a few soldiers, from places where the Chartists had all that time been making and distributing arms, and openly designing against the peace of the realm, where also the civil power was from circumstances manifestly and confessedly inadequate to their suppression. But as we have intimated above, we believe his lordship is determined to create an apparent necessity and a general call for a national guard.

Delightful residence will England be, should that fair vision of a national guard be ever realized! Most secure keeping, most shady protection, most delicious pasture, and refreshing waters will the Church enjoy under the wise controul and delicate attention of a commonalty in arms! With citizen soldiers for her guardian angels what new and untried paths of blessedness may she not essay! Once in the year throughout the land the enlightened ten pound householders will hold their solemn *comitia*, in many a sacred field of Mars; and summoned by turns to the mystic box will tender there, with a wise secrecy and silent gravity, their well weighed and unbiassed suffrages. There will they fill up alike the ranks of the national assemblies, the municipal councils, the civic guard;—perhaps also the congregations of the saints. Little need then will there be of that old jealousy which banishes the soldiers from the very sight and sound of a free election, for the people then, like the barons of Runnymede, will frequent the national assemblies, themselves in armed array. They will elect at once their representatives, their mayor and the military commandant; unless indeed to procure a perfect unison between the will and the power of the people, these two last shall be one. For surely the man of liberal views, the object of a free city's choice, must needs, like the *sapiens* of our ancient sect, be not only philosopher, and king, and wise, and brave, but a good general also. At one time he will impartially poise the balance of equity, at another, like the virtuous Camillus, he will throw the sword into the scale. For a year he will reign the firm and cautious *Æolus* of the popular breezes which have buoyed him up to his brief elevation. Justice and freedom will then be unfettered, for they will be identical with power. All will then be harmony, for when there are not two wills, there are no grievances, no collisions. If any remnants of obsolete prejudice still remain, and jar with envious discord freedom's ear, a mild yet vigorous magistracy will know when to tolerate and when to suppress; when with condescending grace to hold the ægis of the state between the malignant traitors to the people's sovereignty, and the justly offended

citizens, and when to leave to their deserved fate and to a people's fury, men, who by ostentatiously obtruding their exploded follies, dare to insult the understanding, and to outrage the feelings of an enlightened age.

If that portion of the community, whose virtue and the rent of their houses are not sufficient to admit them to the rank of citizens, should still continue to harass the legislature, as they do now, with tumultuous assemblage and words of complaint, the civic guards throughout the kingdom happily uniting in their ranks both the political wisdom and the arms, both the moral and the physical force, of cities, will lend an attentive ear to the voice of remonstrance, and deliberately decide with judgments that cannot be contravened, whether it shall be their's to fraternize with a constitutional ruler or the unconstitutionally oppressed. Such a power will be the best security to the people against official corruption or violence; and in cases of undoubted delinquency it will know when it is advisable to expedite the tardy course of national justice, and anticipate the precarious results of formal tribunals, by opening the prison doors and delivering up to the hands of the public avenger such wretched men, as may either have tyrannized over the weakness, or abused the confidence, of the people.

Ample return will that people render for the power entrusted to them, and amply will it fructify in their hands! They will learn to regard their rulers with a filial affection untainted with slavish fear; they will no longer watch with anxious jealousy the progress of legislation which they will be able at their pleasure to controul or undo; they will no longer occupy the ears of statesmen with importunate petitions for what they can take without asking. Every city and borough in the realm will then become an assembly of statesmen, a school of arms, a deposit of power, wherein the citizen may learn to advise, to govern, and to defend his country; and from which, in the hour of national weakness or error, the needful supplies of strength and wisdom will be generously offered, and, doubtless, promptly received.

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ART. VI.—1. *Ancient Christianity, and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts.* By the Author of “*Spiritual Despotism.*” Part I. London. Jackson & Walford. 1839.

2. *Brief Memoirs of Nicolas Ferrar, M.A., Founder of a Protestant Religious Establishment; chiefly collected from a Narrative by the Right Rev. Dr. Turner, formerly Lord Bishop of Ely, and now edited with Additions.* By the Rev. T. A. Macdonogh, Vicar of Bovington. Second Edition. London: Nisbet. 1837.

WE do not intend here to make any formal examination of Mr. Taylor's work, though the first part of it figures in the heading of the article. It is not yet finished; and we are not sure *where* it will end, and what turns and windings it will pursue meanwhile. We see many marks of inconsistency in him already, as might be expected in one who is rather writing against something which he dislikes than possessed of any particular liking for any thing very definite instead of it. His second fasciculus has in some points contradicted his first; and his first contradicts itself. He may be considered then at present under a course of self-refutation; and perhaps like some wonderful performers in a less dignified line, he may finish his exhibition by eating up himself, and save us the trouble of undertaking him. At first we had proposed to leave him for the present to his own tender mercies, and wished him no worse enemy than himself. We consider we understand his position in the controversy perfectly well; he has come to the light of day in his own time, as leaves in the spring; and in his own time he will become sear, crumple up and drift, as other great theologians, who for a while have been in request during the pending controversy. We had intended then to reserve him; but being not quite sure he will *keep*, we shall say just a very little now upon his first part, and that because it was our intention otherwise to notice a composition, the subject of which is closely connected with what he has selected for his special animadversion in the writings of the Fathers.

The life of Nicolas Ferrar attracts us, by all the eloquence of facts, to certain saintly principles and practices, from which Mr. Taylor would fain frighten us, by all the eloquence of words. The latter gentleman indeed is an alarmist of the first water; nor does he diminish his claims to be considered so, because he writes in a professedly caudid tone, and with sufficient freedom from the alarm he seeks to inspire to be able to cultivate the graces of style. He does, undoubtedly, evidence considerable talent all through his work; what, indeed, but a consciousness of power, and a desire, like Milo, of showing it, could have induced him

to undertake any thing so difficult as the particular thesis in which he has indulged in his first number? Any candid person, on hearing what it is, will feel at once that victory, under such circumstances, is not necessary to make a great general. On such a field of battle it is a great thing to have fought; it is a great thing to have retreated safely. It is a feather in the cap even to have hit upon such a position, that is, in the case of a Protestant; for we believe it is not new ground to Romanists. This ground is no other than this, that Christianity, as exhibited in the Church of Rome during what are sometimes called the dark ages and downwards, is, in what the writer considers its essential characters, an *improvement* upon the Christianity of the Primitive Church; not meaning thereby the Church of the fifth or sixth centuries, but of the age of Ignatius and Cyprian. We have no wish to be thought to misrepresent, which certainly will be our lot, if we do not forthwith back up this statement with some quotations from the author; which shall now be done.

“What, then, I am peculiarly desirous to place in a conspicuous position, is the fact that, instead of a regular and slow development of error, there was a *very early* expansion of false and pernicious notions, in their mature proportions, and these attended by some of their worst fruits. This, then, is the very point and hinge of our argument; and in making good the weighty allegation, I shall use not only all requisite diligence of research, but, as I trust, a strict and conscientious impartiality. It may be, indeed, that later writers express themselves in more fulsome terms, or in worse taste than the earlier, and it may be that the popes and saints of the middle ages exhibit less acquaintance with the classic models of style than was the boast of the well-taught doctors of the third and fourth centuries; but in the substance of their religious system, and in *extent of moral obliquity*, they do not, I venture to say, a whit surpass them.”—p. 66.

“This, then, is the gist of our present argument—that there is *absolutely nothing* in the ripe popery of the times of Saint Dominic, (certain elaborate modes of proceeding excepted,) which is not to be found in the Christianity of the times of Cyprian or of Tertullian.”—p. 71.

“There is *no degradation of the intellect, no bondage of the moral sentiments, no fatal substitution of forms for realities*; there is *no ineffable drivelling* belonging to the middle age monkery, *that may not be matched*, to the full, in the monkery of the bright times of Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine.”—p. 99.

“I would be bold to express my belief that, if we exclude certain crazed fanatics of our times, the least esteemed community of orthodox Christians among us, whichever that may be, if taken in the mass, and fairly measured against the Church Catholic of the first two centuries, would *outweigh it decisively* in each of these qualities; I mean, in *Christian wisdom, in common discretion, in purity of manners, and in purity of creed*. Nay, I am strongly tempted to think that, if our Oxford divines

themselves . . . . . could but be blindfolded . . . . . and were fairly set down in the midst of the pristine Church at Carthage, or at Alexandria, at Rome, or at Antioch, they would be fain to make their escape with all possible celerity towards their own times and country."—p. 117.

Such is the wonderful language of a Protestant writer, not a Romanist, not a Unitarian. Let us hear him once more.

"I firmly believe that it were, on the whole, better for a community to submit itself, without conditions, to the well known tridentine popery, than to take up the Christianity of Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. Personally I would rather be a Christian after the fashion of Pascal and Arnold, than after that of Cyprian or Macarius; *but how much rather after that of our own Protestant worthies.*"—p. 126.

The last clause, which we have put in italics, we consider to have been an after-thought, and doubtless in the MS. was interlined. Bating the salvo it contains, the idea of the whole passage seems better expressed in the following statement of one of the Tridentine Fathers themselves. "To speak candidly," says he, in a well known passage, "I had rather trust one pope in matters touching the mysteries of faith, than a thousand Augustines, Jeromes, or Gregories."

We shall not do full justice to the qualities of mind, which the foregoing extracts evidence in the author under review, if we do not advert to another and somewhat different exhibition of them, which he makes in the course of a dedication and some prefatory remarks. He there intimates as clearly as modesty will permit, his own special fitness for the task he has undertaken. He enlarges upon its difficulties, observing not only that no one has hitherto successfully opposed certain "formidable, accomplished, and flushed antagonists," but that no one is likely to be able to do so, present company of course being always excepted. He is evidently a man of extensive reading, of enlarged and liberal notions, fettered by no prejudices, intimately acquainted with the bearings of the question, and taking a deep philosophical view of the course and issue of the present controversy. It is impossible to doubt it; and, in consequence, he does not shrink from attempting what others have failed in. It might indeed be pardoned, if, in embarking in such a perilous controversy, he desired to engage on his side all the aid he could, or at any rate to sink minor differences and propitiate the sympathies of others to judge favourably of his own essay. By no means. He disdains any such pusillanimous compromise. He will do it all by himself; nor only so, but he fairly acquaints others, of whatever religious party, what poor creatures they are, and how in-

competent in such matters. The staunch Church of Englandmen, who admire the Fathers of the English Reformation, for going as far as they did, and no further, cannot, he considers, stand their ground, inasmuch as they ought in consistency to go "the whole hog" with the Oxford writers in their veneration for the Primitive Church. Much less can another division of the old high Church party, whom he at once dismisses as mere Erastian establishment men. Neither are the so-called Evangelicals in better case, of whom indeed he speaks with a kind of sly compassion. Indeed he warns them against entering into close controversy concerning externals in church authority, lest they be driven back unawares upon "the dead levels of political expediency, or the swamps of dissent;" it being only a happy delusion, which blinds them to the fact, that they hold opinions foreign to their principles and discipline of their church. Lastly, the Dissenters are in his judgment quite *hors de combat*, as being far too ignorant to enter upon it hopefully. What then is left for the world but the appearance of a *Deus è machinâ*, or a Jack the Giant Killer?

That there may be no chance of his being interfered with in his great work, our author adds a word of advice to these respective parties, assuring them of their extraordinary shallowness, and of the absurd figure they will one and all present, should they venture within the lines of controversy. And thus having rid himself of rivals, he sets to work in earnest himself.

Now we suspect that Mr. Taylor has been far more careful to be rid of friends than to secure a foe, which is an indispensable requisite when a man is determined to fight. It is a question whether he is not even supporting the Oxford writers in one chief point in which he thinks he is overwhelming them. What he maintains, we conceive, is, that as the Church was after Constantine, such in substance it was from the first; that we cannot take a period in history so *early* as not to find what are commonly considered the peculiarities of *later* times. Now this surely is just what writers of the Oxford school have distinctly asserted; the difference between them and him lying in this, not whether the early and later times have substantially agreed in doctrine, but whether that substance is good or bad; and again, whether, where earlier and later disagree, the later have or have not improved upon the earlier. Mr. Taylor considers these additions to be improvements; the Oxford writers consider them corruptions; but the substantial identity of the two systems, at least some of them, distinctly maintain. We refer chiefly to a writer in the British Magazine, undoubtedly of their way of thinking, who, in a series of papers on the Church of the Fathers, uses language which it is worth

while quoting :—" If," he says, "the Church system be not apostolic, it must, some time or other, have been introduced ; and then comes the question, *when?* We maintain, that the known circumstances of the previous history are such *as to preclude the possibility of any time being assigned, ever so close upon the Apostles, at which it did not exist.* Not only cannot a time be shown when the free-and-easy system now in fashion did generally exist, but *no time* can be shown in which there is not evidence of the existence of the Church system."—*Brit. Mag.* vol. x. p. 282. And what the writer *includes* in the Church system is quite plain a little further on. Speaking of Origen as persecuted in his day by his bishop, and condemned as heterodox afterwards, he says, "here is a man who was persecuted by his bishop, and driven out of his country ; and whose name after his death has been dishonourably mentioned both by councils and fathers. He surely was not in the episcopal conspiracy at least ; and perchance may give the Latitudinarian, the Anabaptist, the Erastian, and the Utilitarian some countenance. Far from it ; he is as high and as keen, as removed from softness and mawkishness, as *ascetic* and as reverential, as any bishop among them. He is as *superstitious*, as men now talk, as *fanatical*, as *formal*, as *Athanasius* or *Augustine.*" The more clearly then Mr. Taylor proves a substantial agreement in doctrine between the respective ages of Ignatius, Cyprian, Ambrose, Pope Gregory, Hildebrand, and Bernard, the better he seems likely to please such writers as this ; and if he is eager for controversy with them, it is a pity he has not taken the other side. As it is, however, he comes into direct collision with Mr. Faber and other respected divines of a different school, who draw a line between the creeds of the second and fifth centuries ; and doubtless he will have cause to repent his temerity.

We will notice in passing another mistake committed by our author, if he wanted to reach the parties at whom he aims. In order to disparage the ancient system of doctrine and ordinance, he attempts to depreciate the character of certain ancient writers. Now, if there is one thing more than another on which his opponents have insisted it is this : that they did not rest their cause on individuals, however eminent, and had no need to do so ; that Catholicism was an historical *fact*, like any other historical fact, not a creed such as the Lutheran or Calvinistic, originating in this or that teacher, or in any conspiracy of teachers. If our author wished really to engage with them, he ought to have joined issue on this point ; and before writing against the Fathers, to have shown, what many others have asserted, but



which he is too sharp-sighted to undertake, that the Catholic system was a gradual corruption *through* the Fathers.

And now as to his attack on the Fathers itself. The point he has selected is the view entertained in the early Church respecting celibacy, as being in itself, when religiously used, a higher state of life than the married state; and this as regards Christians in general, not concerning the clergy in particular. The evil of this doctrine having been made apparent, next he would maintain, that from the very earliest times, indeed from the very age of the Apostles, "The notions and practices connected with the superlative merit of religious celibacy, were at once the causes and the effects of errors in theology, of perverted moral sentiments, of superstitious usages, of hierarchical usurpations:" and that the attendant abuses of this system were nearly or quite as flagrant in early as in later times. The line of argument which he pursues is this. He quotes passages in which the honour of celibacy is glowingly declared, and rules laid down for the guidance of persons devoted to it, in their conduct in the plain practical matters of dress, conversation, places of resort, and the like. He also quotes passages reprehensive, in very strong terms, of irregularities in these particulars in the case of parties so circumstanced. It would seem too, that in some cases the most serious guilt was incurred by these persons; and therefore, as the author of *Ancient Christianity* appears to argue, it was quite common among them. However, not to insist upon minor defects of reasoning, an argument is raised upon the foregoing foundation, in substance something like the following. The most ancient Christian writers are clear in their praise of celibacy above the married state—persons endeavouring to keep themselves in this estate fell, nevertheless, into grievous sins contrary to their profession; therefore those sins were caused by that opinion. Let us illustrate this reasoning. The commandment says,—Thou shalt not steal: many persons, under vow too, to keep that commandment, nevertheless break it, therefore the command is to be blamed as the cause of their sin. St. Paul puts the matter in a different point of view: "Is the law sin?" he says, "Was that which is good made death unto me?—God forbid." Yet he grants, "I had not known sin, but by the law." Or to take a case exactly apposite concerning another "counsel of perfection," not binding, but yet recommended by apostolic practice. St. Barnabas and others placed the whole of their private fortunes at the disposal of the Apostles. To emulate the honour of their self-denying charity, and to gain credit for what in their hearts they did not purpose, Ananias and Sapphira made a false pretence of so devoting their property. Therefore the

example of St. Barnabas and others was the cause of the great sin of their brethren.

Another equally felicitous mode of drawing conclusions, on which great stress is laid by Mr. Taylor, is the following. Passages are quoted, in which persons, resolved to abide in the celibate, are cautioned about love of dress, against entering gay society, and taking part in light conversations. From these it is inferred, what bad sort of people, how inclined to break loose, must they have been who needed to be seriously and earnestly warned on such points.\* For instance, what very ill disposed people the Ephesian Christians must have been, since St. Paul warns them as he does at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth chapters; what bad bishops must have been in St. Paul's day, considering his twice repeated injunction, that a bishop should be not "given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre!" The Apostle is actually obliged to charge Timothy not to elect a drunkard, a brawler, or covetous person to the office; which he would never have done had he not observed instances of the kind among his brethren, or at any rate a strong inclination to them.

The truth is, there is an open undisguised plainness, a searching truth and severity, in the writings of the Fathers upon all points of morals, which does offend readers; and which requires some painful reflection and self-humiliation rightly to understand and apply. At first we may be inclined to think that we are more refined and pure than they were, afterwards we may come to see, that what crossed us as tokens of greater refinement and purity in our age, are in truth symptoms of the very opposite character of mind. Surely it might be well had we a Cyprian in our age to write a tract "*de habitu virginum*." Look into one of the modern novels which are praised for the just notion they give of fashionable society, its words and ways, and will it be affirmed that such words and ways are suitable for maidens to have part in? Or look into a modern ball room, and what candid person will say, that there is nothing in the dress of those who give it its brilliancy and life unbecoming Christian maidens, no desire of admiration in drawing the eyes of men, unbecoming in itself, more unbecoming still in the means employed? "It seems," says the excellent Hammond, "a piece of Christian chastity there is required of women in this kind, that is not generally thought of." And if this is so in general, how much more does it become a duty in those who purpose in their own minds to continue single, in the hope that they may in that state better serve God, and please Him more?

\* *Vide* p. 76, 80.

The author of *Ancient Christianity*, however, seems to think that persons can be chaste and pure without vigilance and effort; and that the primitive Christians evidently were impure, because they took precautions against impurity. Religious obedience can only be learnt by little things: practical precepts must descend to details; yet the writer in question can bear to be ironical and jocose upon the Fathers, because they used "plainness of speech," like men in earnest, and he thinks he better respects "every pure and manly feeling which shall belong to one who is himself a husband and a father," by talking in a light way both of criminality and of the measures employed for preventing and for punishing it. Unchaste women he calls "loose ladies;" a bishop's solemn trial of suspected parties, he calls "gaining warranty to religious character from the report of the obstetrix;" (p. 74.) Because Christian writers, imbued with the Scriptures, are led to inculcate purity by the example of St. Mary, he calls her "this Cybele of the Fathers," (p. 86), and describes one of them as "a most gallant admirer of the Queen of heaven;" (p. 85.) Even Gibbon, amid his sneers against the early Christians, at the lapses of some through vain confidence of their strength, allows the purity of their lives in general; but they meet with less indulgence from the hands of a professed brother. However, Mr. Taylor, as we have hinted above, is not always reconcilable with himself; and it may be as well to notice, before we turn from him, some of the inconsistencies into which his flowing pen has betrayed him. In spite of his bad opinion of the morals of the early Christians, he speaks of them in one place as follows:—

"Our brethren of the early Church may well challenge our respect as well as affection, for theirs was the fervour of a steady faith in things unseen and eternal; theirs a meek patience and humility, under the most grievous wrongs; theirs the courage to maintain a good profession before the frowning face of philosophy, of secular tyranny, and of splendid superstition; theirs was abstractedness from the world, and a painful self-denial; theirs the most arduous and costly labours of love; theirs a munificence in charity altogether without example; theirs was a reverent and scrupulous care for the sacred writings. \* \* \* \* \*

While the near coming of their Lord was firmly expected, and while nothing had happened of which He had not given His people an intimation, then, and during that fresh morning hour of the Church, there belonged to the followers of Christ generally, a fulness of faith in the realities of the unseen world, such as, in later ages, has been reached only by a very few eminent and meditative individuals;—the thousands then felt a persuasion, which now is felt only by the two or three."

Now, who would believe that men who so *lived up* to the primitive truth, which they had received from Apostles and apostolic

men, should, nevertheless, have drifted off from that very truth without being themselves aware of it, and without any being raised up by God's providence to recall them from their error? That all at once there started up in all parts of the Church this full grown corruption, which he considers their notions to be on the subject of celibacy? Yet *audi alteram partem*.

"I boldly say, that Popery, *foul as it is*, and ever has been, in the mass, might yet fairly represent itself as a *reform* upon *early* Christianity."—p. 79.

But perhaps our author is here reprobating the primitive *system*, and would fairly allow the *men* were much better than their system, and good in spite of their evil opinions. Well, let us try again. We have quoted successively page 38 and page 79, let us see what we find in page 60, half way between the two.

"If it were allowed, which I think it must be, that some periods have very far excelled others in *piety* and wisdom, I should still demur to the allegation, that the era immediately following the death of the apostles can claim any such pre-eminence. Nay, I am compelled to say, that the general impression left upon my mind by the actual evidence, is *altogether of a contrary kind*."

One more specimen and we have done.

"I shall, as I confidently hope, succeed in affording the most convincing proof of the fact, that the Christian teachers, *from the very first*," (the italics are his own) "while they held the formal elements of truth, or, as it is called, orthodoxy, grossly misapprehended the genius and purport of Christianity; and as a consequence of this misapprehension, turned out of its course every Christian institute, and *put on a false foundation every principle of virtue*: and thus transmuted the Christian system into a scheme, which could find no other fixed form than that of a *foul superstition* and a *lawless despotism*." (P. 123.)

Are we not justified in the anticipation which we have already expressed, that this writer may in due time finish his performance by the brilliant feat, sometimes advertised on the bills of less intellectual artists, of swallowing himself, and so ridding us of the trouble and disgust of closing with him in so odious a controversy?

It is indeed pleasant to turn from him to a work of a very different description, and which affords a practical answer to his loose and vulgar merriment on the subject of virginity, better than any of those which logic or learning can supply. This writer will find he has arrayed against him not only the whole ancient Church, but he must also number among his opponents some of the best and most revered names in our own: nay, that among moderns too he must make account to find opponents

besides the Oxford writers, whom he singles out—men, like the editor of the excellent piece of biography to which we are about to call attention, whom independent thought and reading will not suffer to acquiesce in the shallow views of these nineteenth-century men.

Nicholas Ferrar, the subject of this little memoir, was one of the most remarkable men of his age. He was the son of a wealthy London merchant, and born in 1592. At as early an age as six, not only his great talents, but his deep religious feelings became very observable. Blessed with excellent parents, particularly a mother of rare understanding and piety, none of these beginnings were let fall to the ground, or wanted careful attention. They were also eminently successful in their choice of a school for him; and in his thirteenth year his master, declaring him "more than ripe for the University," accompanied him to Cambridge and settled him at Clare Hall. In 1610 he was unanimously chosen fellow. So well known were his attainments and character by that time, that Dr. Lindsell, his tutor, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, was wont to exclaim "May God keep him in his right mind! for if he should turn schismatic or heretic, he would make work for all the world. Such a head! such power of argument! such a tongue! such a pen! such a memory withal he hath, with indefatigable pains, that all these joined together, I know not who would be able to contend with him!" His health at this time was so delicate, that, by advice of physicians, he was recommended to travel abroad, as the only means of preserving his life. He travelled in Holland, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Wherever he went his active mind found subjects of interest and inquiry. Not only such general subjects as language, government, manners, and the state of religion, but the strength of fortresses, magnitude of arsenals and magazines, trade, commerce, revenues, expense of garrisons and navies, system of ship-building, on all these he was curious in collecting information. Painters, weavers, dyers, smiths, and other mechanics were much at his lodgings, and he entered eagerly into details of their craft, so completely did he throw himself into all practical matters of real life. How thorough a man of business he was is shown in the following particulars of his life. His travels were suddenly cut short by news which reached him in Spain of great pecuniary embarrassments in which his father was involved. He hastened home, and by his able management the affairs of the house were honourably and successfully arranged. At this time also, through his father, he became interested in the affairs of a company formed for the colonization of Virginia and conversion of the natives. Many of the nobility and leading merchants were

promoters of this scheme, but the conduct of the whole details of the company's business gradually came under Ferrar's management. He drew up the letters of instruction for the government and trade of the colony, which having been examined by the Privy Council, before which certain accusations were laid against the company by the Lord Treasurer Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, and other powerful persons, received the commendation of many there "for their soundness of matter with respect both to religion and policy, and for their uncommon elegance of language." Even down to the victualling and equipment of the company's ships he was manager. In the year 1624, he was elected member of the House of Commons. And when, in that session, the Earl of Middlesex was impeached, Ferrar, with Lord Cavendish and Sir Edwin Sandys, were ordered by the House to draw up the charge, and Mr. Ferrar was deputed to bring it in. He used to reproach himself afterwards much for his active part in this transaction, as it was known to be against the wishes of the king, and because also of some free speeches, made, as it would seem, by him against the will of his prince; so much so, that he was heard to say, stretching out his right hand, "I would I were assured of the pardon of that sin, though on the condition that this hand were cut off." Perhaps this regret hastened a resolution he had made some time before. This he executed in the following year, retiring with his mother and her children, grand-children, and other near relations, to an estate which she had purchased at Little Gidding, near Huntingdon, and passing the remainder of his life in a monastic seclusion, and almost exclusively given to devotional exercises. He began at once with a regular course, at Church and in the house, dividing the family into parties for the performance of the domestic services. They were in all about forty persons, "of whom above twenty were so descended from Mrs. Ferrar, that they kneeled to her morning and evening for her blessing."

Mr. Ferrar obtained leave of the bishop of the diocese, in consideration of the plague still raging, to use the Litany every day in the Church; and having once introduced it he had licence to retain it after the plague. They had three distinct daily services. Besides this, each hour of the day had a certain proportion of Psalms allotted to be said in it, by some part or division in the family: so that the whole Psalter was duly and devoutly said over by them, verse by verse, interchangeably, within the compass of the twenty-four hours. These household services for the different hours were so framed that the collect, the Psalm, the Gospel and all, lasted but a quarter of an hour. This system was commenced in the summer of 1625.

A little before Whitsuntide in the following year, Mr. Ferrar went to London with his mother for some settlement of their affairs, and on Trinity Sunday he was ordained deacon by Bishop Land, being presented by his former college tutor, Dr. Lindsell, "by whom the bishop was prepared to receive him with tokens of particular esteem, and with a great deal of joy that he was to lay hands on so extraordinary a person:" his purpose being, as he told his mother when he returned home to her in the evening, to separate himself to serve God in this holy calling, namely, to be the Levite himself in his own house, and to make his own relations, who were many, his cure of souls."

Here then we have a person from his earliest years distinguished for remarkable piety—no fanatic—not disorderly in his zeal, for his biographer records of him, that while at Cambridge (under 20 years of age be it remembered), judgment and discretion were qualities he possessed in a more transcendent degree, his age considered, than any one of his other eminent virtues—with a most powerful mind and prodigious industry—born to a plentiful fortune—one, who had seen the world far more than most of his day—keen in his desire for knowledge upon the most various subjects—moving in good society—a member of parliament, with considerable reputation in the political world—a person in no way disposed to be eccentric, but conforming, in things indifferent, to the ways of those among whom he lived, and, which is also to be observed, a person of very rare modesty and humility, and devotedly attached to the Church of England; we see such a person deliberately resolving in the prime of life to continue in celibacy, and retire from the world as a higher line than that from which he withdrew. Nor was this resolution hastily adopted or formed upon some sudden impulse. There is proof that he had determined upon it some years before. A rich merchant, one of his brother directors in the Virginian Company, who had an only daughter (who is described by the Bishop of Ely, his biographer, as "a very agreeable person, and a great fortune withal"), became so attached to Ferrar that he quite courted him for her, and when he still pressed him, after Ferrar had endeavoured playfully to turn off the subject, he at last told him, that his resolution was "not to marry at all." His intention to form his family into a kind of monastic society appears also in this, which the bishop, his biographer, has recorded, that "the habit of the young women was a black stuff, all of one grave fashion, and always the same." Thus we have Ferrar's own view pretty clearly marked as to the celibate, and the accordance of societies of a monastic character with the genius of our Church.

But we may next look to the opinion of churchmen of his day

concerning this experiment, for that it would be much canvassed and discussed may be conceived, were it only from Ferrar's extensive acquaintance, and his intimacy with some of the leading men of the day. For, conceive in our time, if a young man well known for his great abilities, and industry, and success, of high character during his university career, of independent fortune, a member of parliament, to whom many looked as likely to hold a distinguished place in the councils of the state, in case of a change in the government,—conceive if he were to put in execution such a design as Ferrar's; would it not be the talk of the day, a subject for articles in newspapers? Would not all sorts of reports, always exaggerated, be spread about his proceedings? Would not clergy, and thoughtful laymen who attend the London Religious Societies be quite alive and aghast at the news? Yet about nine months after Ferrar had followed this system—quite time enough for news of all to travel to London, without losing any thing on the road—he was ordained by Bishop Laud, who expressed singular satisfaction thereat, and Ferrar was introduced by Lindsell, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. Here then is the testimony of two bishops. We may add Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, his diocesan and visitor of the little academy, who gave him his company at Gidding several times, and highly approved their order and manner of living. And, on one occasion, at his departure gave them all his paternal benediction, and affectionately embracing Mr. Ferrar, took his leave of him with this hearty prayer: “*Deus tibi animum istum, et animo isti tempus longissimum concedat.*” Cosin also, then Master of Peterhouse, afterwards Bishop of Durham, with Archbishop Laud, presented to the King a work of the religious society's execution, and communicated with them about the execution of another piece; from which we imagine thus much may be fairly inferred, that he did not think Ferrar held views of dangerous tendency, or not allowable in a minister of the English Church. Turner, Bishop of Ely, was his biographer, and calls his life “not only admirable, but *imitable*—by the gentry especially, or by his fellow-citizens, who gain plentiful estates, and then retire into the country:” and he says, one design of writing his life was, “as an illustrious example of a more illuminate man in the Church of England, than any, I believe, they can show us in the Church of Rome, if they will tell us nothing but the honest truth; or any other sect whatever.” To descend to others of lower note, the clergyman of the neighbouring parish of Steeple Gidding was on most cordial terms with him, coming over always on Sunday morning, bringing his own flock with him, to preach at Little Gidding Church. Their country neighbours, of the better sort,



were not afraid of the Ferrar family, nor were they, on their part, forgetful of due civilities to them.—

“Whenever they were pleased to afford their company at Gidding, (which for the novelty of the thing many frequently did) they were received with all the obligingness, and treated with all the respect to which, according to the rules of Christian politeness and courtesy, they were entitled. The more substantial marks of hospitality also were not wanting; the refreshments of wine or a tankard of ale, with a piece of cake, were offered to all comers of any note; but though many of high quality lingered there, as if desirous to stay their meals, or take up their lodging with them, yet they took it not amiss at their departure, that no invitation was given them, finding that it was not their custom to entertain strangers in that indiscriminate manner, except in cases of manifest necessity or charity. . . . Hardly one day passed in which some distinguished person, either friend or stranger, did not come to pay him reverence. . . . He always gave orders, that if any one came to speak with him, though he were at his studies, he should be informed of it.”

Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the Archbishop of York, a pupil of Hooker, was one of his intimate friends. Kennet, in his *Book on Impropropriations*, bestows praise on their society. King Charles I., no mean judge of what the spirit of that Church allowed, for which he was a martyr, on an occasion, after much discourse about an harmony of the Books of Kings and Chronicles, which by his request they had executed for him, and regarding their manner of living, concluded thus: “How happy a prince were I, if there were many such families in my kingdom, who would employ themselves as these do at Gidding.” His funeral sermon was preached by the Dean of Ely. And lastly, we have reserved to say, that George Herbert, the model of a Church of England country parson, had a warm regard and very great respect for him, and such opinion of his judgment, that he sent “the *Temple*,” to him before publication, desiring him to read it, “and then, if he think it may turn to the advantage of any poor dejected soul, let it be made public: if not let him burn it;” and Mr. Ferrar contributed a preface to it.

It will not be supposed, that a family like that of the Ferrars could hold on their way in such a course as they followed, without being censured and condemned by many. They had their share of such critics of their system. They were vilified as papists and puritans, their establishment was denounced, even to parliament, as an “*Arminian Nunnery*,” in an inflammatory pamphlet full of invective, malignity, and falsehood. The humility of his whole life would be sufficient answer to the imputation, that he placed any reliance on the merit of his works. Two little incidents in his last illness, which remind us of the last days

of the excellent Hammond, shall be mentioned. A visitor suggesting that he must have great joy at the many alms-deeds he had done, was hastily interrupted: "What speak you of such things? It had been but a suitable return for me to have given all I had, instead of scattering a few crumbs here and there: God forgive me!" Another time, one reading from the Visitation Service by his bed side, "For what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you, whether it be to try your patience for the example of others," went on, "or *for our punishment.*" At the unauthorised addition of these words he was much displeased, beseeching him to speak at that rate no more, for he was "a most miserable sinner." That his views were clear and well defined, and in no way approximated to the peculiarities of Rome, is shown in the following anecdotes. Three learned priests of that Church visited him once at Gidding, and they had a conference, in which (it is said) "they traversed every essential point of difference between Protestant and Papist;" and one of them was heard to say afterwards, that "if he (Mr. Ferrar) lived to make himself known to the world, he would give their Church her hands full to answer him, and trouble them in another manner than Luther had done." Another time, being asked what he would do, if mass were celebrated in his house without his leave or knowledge? he said, "he would pull down that room, though he built another." We doubt whether the zeal of many of our modern Protestants would carry them so far. As in other respects they might say he showed narrow-minded bigotry in approaching too near to Romanism, so in this in being over-fearful and abhorrent of it. Such acts as these are more than enough to answer the vague charges brought against him; and while the latter have fallen to the ground, Ferrar's example remains. His life has been written and rewritten; and the little volume from which we have made our extracts is the second edition in this modernized form. It is a good sign of a love for what is good and holy, and above our age, that there should be a demand for such a work; and let it never be forgotten, that, notwithstanding the objections raised to him in his day, he had, upon the whole, the approbation of the rulers of the Church, and of the wise and good, not simply as if his life were allowable, but praiseworthy for those who could receive it; though it intimated on the face of it the persuasion that the single state given to devotion was the higher line to choose. For it is evident that every one would have understood this to have been the view of a family so living together and so ordered.

Nicolas Ferrar is the picture of no ordinary Christian—one, who in all times of the Church, and in all countries, would be

at once recognizable by his life and manners—his faith and word. Whether brought up at the feet of an Apostle, or, like St. Antony, settled in the solitudes of Egypt, or with Basil, in the more monastic retirement in Pontus—with Chrysostom, in Constantinople—or with Augustine in Africa, or with Ambrose in Italy; whether in the first, or third, or sixth century, or in the “dark ages”—or at the Reformation—or in our own bright days of Hooker, Herbert and Laud—a Christian every where, and in every age, and in all his life: a Christian, such as the author of *Ancient Christianity* cannot tolerate, and who was guilty of holding most of those views, which Mr. Taylor asserts tend to all sorts of immorality, to narrow formalism, to a reliance on externals, to a neglect of inward purity of heart, to pride and presumption. Certainly, he and his seem to have been singularly preserved from their imminent danger.

Since we are upon the subject, it may be satisfactory to add the testimony of two of our principal devotional writers, of very different schools of divinity, and in estimation among very distinct sections of the church, who appear to hold the doctrine which Ferrar practised. It was, in the judgment of Leighton, “*the great and fatal error of the Reformation, that more of those (religious) houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglement of vows, and other mixtures, was not preserved. So that the Protestant Churches had neither places of education nor retreat for men of mortified tempers.*”\* Thus Leighton thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation to be the doing away those very institutions which we are now told are so very corrupt in all their forms. Jeremy Taylor, in the most popular of his works, distinctly recognizes it, and used terms to designate that state, and lays down rules precisely of a kind which move the scorn and indignation of our modern writers against the Fathers. The following will be enough: “Natural virginity, of itself, is not a state more acceptable to God; but that which is chosen and voluntary, in order to the conveniences of religion, and separated from worldly incumbrances, is therefore better than the married life,—not that it is more holy, but that it is a freedom from cares, an opportunity to spend more time in spiritual employments; it is not alloyed with businesses and attendance upon lower affairs; and if it be a chosen condition to these ends, it containeth in it a victory over lusts, and greater desires of religion and self-denial, and therefore is more excellent than the married life, in that degree in which it hath greater religion and a greater mortification, a less satisfaction of natural desires, and a greater fulness of the

\* Burnet's Lives, Ed. Bishop Jebb, p. 288.

spiritual: and just so is to expect that little coronet or special reward, which God hath prepared (extraordinary, and besides the great crown of all faithful souls) for those 'who have not defiled themselves with women, but follow the Virgin Lamb for ever.' "

Such is the judgment of the seventeenth century; but strange things are circulated in the nineteenth. We hear, for instance, a wish has been expressed, that bishops should not prefer any one in their respective dioceses who should ever speak ministerially in favor of celibacy. The next step, we suppose, would be that a matrimonial engagement should be a necessary title for orders; or an extract from the marriage register might be one of the ordinary papers sent in together with the *Si quis*, or College testimonial. Expectations, we hear, have been entertained of the effect of the first open avowal of opinion on the subject of celibacy on the part of those who are said to be favourable to it. It is hoped that whenever broached by them, it will be protested against and put down by the "good sense" of the people of England with indignation and abhorrence. It may be so. Meanwhile we would observe that that same English "good sense" is not infallible, particularly in church matters. At least we suspect that the "good sense" of the majority of intelligent men who had never thought on the subject, would at first sight decide that 2000*l.* is ample provision for a bishop, or that it would be an improvement to admit Dissenters to power and station in our Universities. On the other hand, sorry as we are to disturb the peace of mind of many comfortable family men, we are not oversure that the "common sense" of the nation *would* be altogether opposed to the course under consideration. We are not so sure, that the notion of persons abstaining from marriage in order to give themselves more to God, and not to be entangled with the affairs of this life, or from fear of becoming indolent amid domestic comforts, or covetous from anxieties about a family; or in order to devote themselves to works of charity and self-denial; nay, as a kind of severity towards themselves for trifling and thoughtlessness in times past, would offend people's common sense, at least if they were people who knew what the Bible said on the subject, and especially when they were informed, that persons did not bind this in themselves by a vow, but only purposed in themselves so to abide, if God give them grace to do so.

It is well that this subject should be brought before the public mind. We do not know whither the necessities of our times are tending. There is a strong and awakened sense of the appalling spiritual destitution of our great towns. The public mind is more and more drawn to it. Facts and figures are coming out; and men are beginning to realize this oppressing subject with

definite statistical notions of its enormous magnitude, and the difficulty, and yet the absolute necessity for a remedy. Men of all ranks and professions are making sacrifices of money: other personal sacrifices will follow. The more the subject is brought out, the more will it be forced upon the public mind, that our existing parochial system (humanly speaking) is utterly powerless for making head against the tide of irreligion that sets in. But lately, there was a meeting for providing schools and churches for a single district in one corner of London, at which this fearful fact is stated, that there are 700,000 souls, and church accommodation for but 5000. The Bishop of London, as everywhere, was forward with his munificent contribution. But what a time it must be before money can be raised, and churches built, and clergymen settled to begin labour among these Christian souls. Specially then, we envy the lot of him who may have boldness to make trial of associating a number of young men as a collegiate body, for the cheaper supply of an efficient ministry to operate on these dense and dark masses of sin and ignorance, to live with him, not tied by vows, but purposing in their hearts, by God's grace, not to entangle themselves in the affairs of this life, that they may the more devote themselves to this great work. One word from that active prelate, and we doubt not some one would be found, under his sanction and encouragement, to make the attempt, some one perhaps with chance advantages of local connections, which would prevent the experiment being scorned as not respectable, but might from such chance influence, as it were, command a fair trial. It would be a noble addition to the praise of his lordship's munificent charity, to have brought into practice a plan, by which, under God's providence, so much might be done, and which, if judiciously managed under his advice and patronage, would soon be adopted elsewhere, so that his name might go down to posterity as the *Christianizer of the great Towns of our Land*.

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- ART. VII.—1. *Helps to the Building of Churches and Parsonage Houses; containing Plans, Elevations, Specifications, &c.* By the Rev. William Carus Wilson, M.A. Rector of Whittington, Perpetual Curate of Casterton, and Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. London. 1835.
2. *A Letter on Ecclesiastical Architecture, as applicable to Modern Churches: addressed to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London.* By John Shaw, Architect. London: Weale. 1839.
3. *Twenty Lithographic Views of Ecclesiastical Edifices in the Borough of Stroud.* By Alfred Smith, Artist; with Short Notices appended to each Drawing. Stroud: Brisley. 1838.
4. *Designs for Rural Churches.* By George E. Hamilton, Architect. London. Weale: 1836.

THERE is a kind of natural alliance between the science of architecture and the sentiment of philanthropy, by which both have ever been purified and ennobled. Philanthropy wearies at length of satisfying only the wants of the day, of administering comforts which serve only to make the sad and certain tenor of poverty still more felt, of trying to fill the sieve-like purse of providence, of letting the weakness and the vices of mankind be the only rule and measure of its bounties; it longs to emerge from matters of food and raiment to man's higher destinies, from gratifications to utilities, from the dark alley to the public thoroughfare, from individuals and classes to the universal state, and from the passing hour to distant generations. Architecture then comes forward and presents the most obvious and most palpable means of satisfying the craving after permanent, noble, public and systematic benefits. It writes the various social charities of men on a durable and dignified material, which Providence seems to have furnished for this very purpose; it gives a visible identity to past and future ages, to cities, and the commonweal. The town-hall with its lofty portico overshadowing the crowded mart, the palace-like infirmary, the classic library, the secluded college, the bridge's bold and graceful span, the massive river walls of the spacious quay, the causeway stretching across the marshy plain and over the sevenfold stream, the breakwater, or the mountain road, are all lasting, general, and undoubted deeds of kindness, with a sort of heroic grace about them, whether the work of men or of a whole generation of benefactors. To a truly generous, that is a truly social mind, no occasion is so fair and honourable as the public need—no gift so gracious as what is given to

the state—no property so sacred as what belongs to all. It is true that private edifices are not without their charm; but no small part of that charm is derived from the political associations with which they are enveloped in our minds—from the rank and place the holders occupy in society, and from the duties and relations which are therein implied. Viewed as abodes of selfish ease and luxury, of individual display, or as designed for the narrow hospitalities of a class, they sink below the peasant's hut in mental interest. But at the best they have no charm, if we know anything of the current feelings of mankind, to compare with that of strictly public structures, which are the fair front and ornament of cities, the turreted crown of the state, the memorials, not of families, but of our common forefathers, the emblems of union and of mutual obligations, the connecting points of mind and memory in fellow townsmen separated by ever so great an interval of condition, space or time.

Such being their charm and moral interest, we cannot wonder at the great ambition of many men to be the adorners of their native towns or other places dear to them. If this be not more justly described as the desire of all men, unless they are debased by selfishness, or hindered by calls upon their means and affections still nearer home, or alienated by party differences, it may at least be called the ambition of a superior class of minds. It is most honourable that men should desire to leave permanent footsteps of their earthly sojourn, and to be still seen and known in their works as they were always wont to be. Notwithstanding the eccentricities frequently found to disguise benevolence, we think few moral pictures more agreeable than that not unfrequent one of men apparently devoted by early habit to the accumulation of wealth, yet without the ordinary objects that render wealth desirable; denied by Providence a natural channel of affection, and kept by their one engrossing occupation from expensive pleasures, yet in the seeming isolation of their minds secretly cherishing, with a strength unknown to the many, the finest tastes and noblest instincts of patriotism, and dying content that poverty, distress, and ignorance should be their heirs. We know it is the fashion to depreciate such benevolences, and ascribe them to any lower feelings which may by possibility have marred the deed. But is kindness no longer kind because it asks for thankfulness? Is the gift no real gift if the giver wishes to be known, or if he seem somewhat arbitrary and capricious in the conditions of his bounty? As we would wish to receive a merciful judgment on our own best deeds, so should we look on the infirmities of good doers more as the accidental peculiarities than the very groundwork of their actions. Yet after all, how few of our ancient benefactors

have stipulated for a name! The origin and the first authors of many of the greatest works and institutions of this country are utterly unrecorded and unknown.

Men of common humbleness are apt to be overwhelmed in the decline of life by the consciousness of the vast benefits they have received from society, and the little return they have made. When, as life advances, recollection takes the place of hope, and late repentance comes instead of the sanguine schemes of youth, their memories recal with painful faithfulness the many opportunities of serving their generation which they have neglected, and the many perhaps everlasting injuries they have through wilfulness or inadvertence inflicted on it. If it may possibly be helped they cannot bear to die in debt to mankind, and with their whole soul they yearn to discharge a vast obligation which nature itself suggests may still press upon them in a world where it can no longer be paid or diminished. Something of this feeling it is which is expressed by Plato in that well-known passage of his Republic, where Socrates says to a wealthy old man—

“ ‘But I will venture to ask you one other question, What do you consider the greatest advantage you have derived from the possession of an ample fortune?’ On which Cephalus replies, ‘One advantage which I dare say few persons would give me credit for feeling so strongly. Take my word for it, Socrates, that when a man finds he cannot calculate on staying here much longer, he begins to be sensible of certain fears and anxieties which he never knew before. However much he may hitherto have been disposed to slight the stories that are told of those who are in hell, and the doctrine that such as do ill in this life suffer retribution there, they then present themselves to him with fearful force, and torment his soul with the thought that they may perhaps be true. Whether it be from the weakness of old age, or because he is now somewhat more near to that future world, he begins to contemplate it steadily. He becomes therefore full of misgiving and dread; takes account of his life, and considers whether he has done any injury to any one. If in the course of this examination he convicts himself of any wrongful deeds, then he falls a prey to terror, he starts up even in his sleep like a child, and lives with an evil hope. Whereas the man who is conscious of no iniquity enjoys the perpetual presence of a sweet hope, the kind and comfortable nurse of his old age, as Pindar says. With what beauty, Socrates, does he express the state of a man who has passed a life of justice and peace.

‘Ye mortals, that your lot complain,  
That seek for peace and seek in vain,  
Hear ye at length his envied meed  
Who lives in just and holy deed;  
Who never from his word has strayed  
By weakness or by will betrayed;



Whom no temptation e'er could move  
From promised vow or claim of love  
To man below or God above.

A consolation, all unknown  
To gilded pomp or purple throne,  
To iron rule or victor's bays,  
Shall still be his as strength decays,  
Shall still attend his latest days.

Him *sweetest hope, the nurse of age,*  
Shall *cheer thro' life's long pilgrimage,*  
And *sooth his heart with healing balm*  
To nought but virtue given;  
Hope, that a *thousand wanderings past,*  
Still *guides us through the stormy waste*  
To distant shores of endless calm,  
And *steers the bark to heaven.\**

“ Well said, indeed, and with a force that all must feel. For my own part, at least, I consider that the chief value of wealth, not indeed to any man, but to a man of ordinary goodness, consists in its affording the means of satisfying a burdened conscience, and procuring that ease of mind which Pindar alludes to. For wealth is a great security against even unwillingly defrauding or breaking one's word, and then leaving this world for another with the fearful consciousness of unfulfilled vows of sacrifice to God, and undischarged debts to man. There are indeed many other great conveniences in wealth; but comparing one with another, Socrates, I should consider this to be the most valuable of all, at any rate to a man of reflection.’ ”

We need scarcely observe that we quote this passage as illustrating a heathen's notion of one particular religious use of wealth, when Providence has placed it at our disposal. Neither Socrates nor Plato are compromised in the sentiment put into the mouth of a pious Athenian, that wealth is in any wise necessary to peace of mind.

But all the above incentives to public works of benevolence bear with vastly concentrated force on religious foundations. Nothing can be so sacred, so public, so permanent, so really benevolent, so truly gracious an offering, as a building devoted to the worship of the Living God. By what other work of man's hands can any one so securely perpetuate his love to God and man? Churches once built, as far as we can judge, never cease to exist, and to be as great a benefit as at first. Other buildings may lose their utility from changes in the wants of men and in the construc-

\* The fragment from Pindar is paraphrased, and the sense completed from the contents of Plato. The words in italics are the whole of the original.

tion of society. But the wants of religion are always the same. A wonderful charm seems heretofore to have preserved the ten thousand parish churches of the land; structures, many of them scarcely superior to the surrounding cottages, of masonry so rude that the merest village architect would be ashamed to own it, and a farmer would not tolerate it for a cow-shed: yet they stand by a more than adamant strength, the same as ever, as though the holiness of their purpose were a more durable thing than stone, and the prayers of their founders more binding than mortar. Since these churches were first built, the deep foundations of ten thousand castles and mansions have been laid, and again dug up and scattered abroad, yet the very wood work and the ornaments of those simple records of our forefathers' piety still survives.

We are speaking only of parish churches, being too well aware that several times their number of conventual establishments, and chapels attached to private houses and estates, have disappeared. But as we are not at the present moment recommending any one to build *these*, we may put them out of the question. Parish churches do stand, and that by a miracle, when we take into account the fragile character of the structures, and the manifold decays and violences to which they are liable. How far beyond the most sanguine hopes of the founders must be the benefits of these simple structures! Little could it then be anticipated, that for a whole millenium they should be, wherever they stood, the one great blessing of the neighbourhood, a heaven on earth, the home of every holy feeling, the centre all men's affections, the palaces of the poor: and at the end of that millenium, be still all this and more.

Eagerly do men cleave to any temporal perpetuity—gladly do they seize any means of protracting their identity, and entailing on any line whatever, so as it may seem another self, the property, the dignity and station, which they are forced to leave behind. But what freehold is so ancient as the Church's, the antiquity of whose material structures has by this time become an impressive type of our everlasting inheritance?

So far from there being any thing great or heroic in dedicating thus superfluous wealth to such a purpose, one might rather suppose it the most obvious outlet of human creativeness, and of that natural desire above referred to, of continuing to do good in the world, even when one's own days are numbered.

But in addition to this craving of nature, the Christian lives in hope, and by his very vocation looks to the future rather than to the present. He stands on the rock of ages, and delights to lay thereon the foundations of the eternal city. He feels that his Church is of the living, and of the dead, and of those that are

yet unborn. He has ever before him the vision of that vast assembly that shall stand before the judgment seat, made up, not only of all kindreds, but of all generations. He therefore abhors what is transient; he dreads to connect the chief works of his life with the stream of temporal things, which shall pass away and their place be no where found; and he clings to that which shall still endure. Then what a gracious permission, what a blessed opportunity, what an incredible privilege it seems, that men *may* build a House of God, that they *may* open a gate to heaven, that they *may* draw the waters of life from the flinty rock.

It is then an unusual and unnatural, and a monstrous state of feeling which for many generations has now prevailed in this country on the subject of church-building. For a long time it has been thought that *genuine* zeal for the Church was something so rare, and, even when found so feeble in its actual results, that churches could only be built and endowed either by compulsion, or from superstitious feelings. The nation judged, as Hume would have us, by experience. It found that it did not itself desire to build churches, and taking for granted that its own dispositions were the average of the Christian character, it concluded that our forefathers, who had acted otherwise, must have done so, not as Christians, but as Papists, or something of that sort. It found nothing of the kind in its own Christianity, and not being ashamed of its own position, considered the *onus probandi* to lie on our forefathers, whom, not being able to speak for themselves, it condemned of being zealous on unchristian principles. That the churches of this country have not increased, but rather diminished, for the three centuries previous to our generation, and that the actual *passion* for religious foundations has been suspended during that period, is owing to accidental circumstances—to the enormous and wanton destruction of houses of God at the Reformation, which naturally discouraged the building of more; to the consequent extinction of the science and taste of Catholic architecture; to the fact, that after all that demolition there was still a supply of parish churches in advance of the population; to the timid jealousy and wooden inelasticity of our Parliamentary system; to the irreverence of the Puritans; and last, not least, to the grievous judgment of 1688, which cast out of the Church prudence, zeal, and knowledge, for more than a century. The Church is now returning to herself, and feels somewhat of her first love awakened in her bosom by her immensely increasing necessities, by the sad sight of her children torn away by hostile communions, and, not a little, by being rejected of the State, and thrown on her own resources.

We feel it a great blessing that we are now justified in assum-

ing our fellow Christians to be zealous on this point; that there are multitudes whom we need no longer exhort to be liberal with their purses and time. We may now venture to ask our Church founders for rule and method, and may attempt to refine the popular taste without danger of damping the energies of churchmen, and diminishing the result. Now that the work is being done, we may safely begin to ask that it may be well done.

Perhaps there never was a time when some rigorous censure, or some influential school of architecture, was more required than now. We say this advisedly. Till the present age there has been always some *one* style, which was universally adopted with exceptions not worth mentioning. Architecture was like the language of the country: as there was only one English language, so there was only one style of building in use at a time, which underwent a progressive change as that language also did. In one century every body used the Anglo-Norman style, with semi-circular windows; in the next century the style we call early English, viz. lancet windows, &c., was as universal—then the florid, and so on; nay, further, *one* style only was in use throughout the greater part of last century, viz. the Italian. An architect therefore had only one *style* to learn, and could easily master its grammar and its vocabulary: he could “get an ear for it.” There was no more danger of his jumbling the terms and idioms of two different styles, than of an Englishman inadvertently talking French or Spanish. The living style he considered unquestionably the last, and the others obsolete, dead, and unworthy of notice. A builder of the fifteenth century called upon to enlarge a church of the eleventh century, or to insert a window in it, treated the decorations of the original structure as if they were so much dead wall, and probably would have been as unskilful in attempting to preserve the character of the building, as if he had tried to speak the language of its founder.

But the present age has no vernacular style of architecture, that is, no one style in which its ideas naturally flow and express themselves, and which is inseparably connected with its taste and feelings. Architecture is become a literature. We learn a number of styles as we do a number of dead languages. The exact scholar may with much labour and watchfulness just contrive to make a composition in one style without palpably intrenching on another: but after all his pains, though he trusts he can pass off his work on the present generation, he knows full well that any one to whom that style was natural would perceive a great uncouthness and probably detect some downright solecisms: just as a Browne medalist knows that his Greek ode may pass muster at Cambridge, but would have sounded barbarous, and perhaps have been unintelligible at Thebes. This is the utmost that even

the best architectural scholars can now accomplish: as for the mass of builders, their's is a kind of *lingua franca*, or rather a macaronic style, a mere jumble of languages. Ninetenths of the churches which have been built in the present century are as heterogeneous as a masquerade dress made out of the costumes of ten different nations.

We are aware that modern architects sometimes combine different styles knowingly and intentionally; and that their excuse is the fact of most of our larger churches being the accumulations of successive eras. Now this we hold to be a great charm in these structures. They are thus as it were visible histories of the Church; they carry the mind backwards through the vista of ages; they give it a momentum forwards into futurity; they are an emblem of perpetuity; they present to us the Church of all times; they bring before us different generations as so many independent witnesses to the truth. It is the same charm, the same gracious Providence, as that we appreciate so highly in the Holy Scriptures, which are the work and the language of fifteen centuries, and which are thus in the very words and writing memorials of all the fortunes of the Church, through Arabia, Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome. For our part so highly do we prize these natural anomalies in our Churches, that except in extreme cases, we would rather not interfere with even the absurd alterations and the unsightly monuments of the last century. We are sorry they were ever introduced, but *factum valet*; they teach their lesson: let the eighteenth century be suffered to continue in the cloud of witnesses as well as the rest. But this charm cannot be copied; just as youth and age are good in themselves, but cannot be imitated by one another.

But there are still more serious sources of incongruity in Church building than mere difference of styles. Grecian temple, Catholic cathedral, Corinthian portico, and Norman door-way, pilaster and pinnacle, cannot differ so much or so essentially from another as the two *notions* of a Church, a preaching house, and a house of prayer. If then we could ensure the greatest technical accuracy in details, still if the Geneva principle of a house of God be adopted instead of the Catholic, the result must inevitably be an architectural monster.

There are also other "disturbing forces" which in a bye way interfere with a reference to ancient and Catholic usage; such as the use of the vulgar shop-front principle, *i. e.* dressing the Church so as to be handsome and catching in the eyes of man, instead of making it an offering to God; and other like modernisms, which we may have to notice shortly.

All these elements of confusion are generally allowed free play.

There is hardly any age, realm, or religious system, but what contributes somewhat to a modern Church. You see included under one expansive roof of slate a vast and heavy pile, whose proportions are perhaps those of a heathen temple; from one end of the roof rises a tower, emulating in its lightness, but not in its height, the ærial tracery of Mechlin or Antwerp. From the other end of the building seems to bud, as it were, an incipient chancel. The windows are all ages and all shapes, from lancet to the most florid; round, pointed and square. The buttresses, battlements and pinnacles, &c., are selected at random from four different centuries. As the interior is seen by far fewer people, *i. e.* only by the congregation, appearances and proprieties, decencies and chronologies are there still less regarded. The result is, that if any detached parts of the building should happen to be good in themselves, they are thrown away, or only contribute to the general distasteful effect of the whole: as in that article of cookery called a medley pie, in which beef, bacon, rabbit, peas, apples and onions only spoil one another. The building becomes a type of the religion of the day, and the present state of the Church: at once sectarian, eclectic, and comprehensive.

The architect sometimes escapes inconsistency by adopting a style of his own, in which no one member of the building can convict the others, all being equally unwarranted. This of course is a hazardous experiment, and we are not aware of any having as yet succeeded. It is in fact as bold an undertaking as not merely to construct a language, as Psalmanazar did, but also to write an epic poem in it.

Yet it is not for lack of ordeals that the work generally turns out to be such as we have described. Before a church is consecrated many eyes have examined the plan, many heads have deliberated upon it. The clergyman, who is an educated man, and ought to have, if not a natural, yet some acquired taste; a building committee of gentlemen from the parish or neighbourhood; the eye of the public, which in our days assumes a considerable freedom of censure; the committees of the diocesan and parent Church building Society; these all, not to mention the architect himself, have had the plan before them, and duly weighed it before a stone was laid. Yet perhaps not one word has been said by them all against the chief architectural solecisms and ecclesiastical improprieties in the building. Clergy, laity, gentlemen and tradesmen, the educated and ignorant, the subscribers and the architect, all are compromised in it.

We could wish that this were owing only to the want of critical and scholarlike knowledge of sacred architecture. We have alluded to something deeper in our mention of the prevailing difference of view as to what a Church is: and in truth profane-

ness and vulgarity are at the bottom of all these absurdities, which promise therefore to enjoy no very brief ascendancy. Strange is it that a generation which prides itself in its refinement of manners, its courtesies, its advance in all the decencies and elegancies of private life, its thousand and one new sciences and new tastes, its houses, its gardens, its dress, and its equipages, should proudly and ostentatiously disdain any thing that savours of punctilio, fitness, or recondite elegance, in sacred things. Is it really true then, as many have suspected, that a full developement of these secular tastes, so far from leading to a corresponding improvement in the sense of sacred graces and proprieties, does absolutely stand in its way? Is it true then, that a man who can arrange and build an elegant mansion, adapted to modern usages, who is an adept at paper hangings, curtains, conservatories, verandahs, pleasure grounds and carriage drives, is *therefore* likely to be a man not fit to be trusted with building a church? If our experience teaches us right, it is so. Yet in point of argument, what can be more inconsistent than for any one to despise in sacred things the very refinement which in domestic matters he values, he delights in, he considers the best, the noblest, the most distinguishing part of himself? Here is a man, a clergyman perhaps, and one whose income is entirely derived from the Church, who can tell at a glance a fashionable equipage, who knows the latest improvements in carriage building, who has a quick sense of the difference of a light or a heavy, a modern or an antiquated, a town or a country build, who would not dream of having a vehicle defective in any of these points, who so far from thinking such refinements frivolous and superfluous because few can enter into them, does really cherish them and act upon them all the more in proportion to the smallness and selectness of the class by which they are appreciated—this man so sensitive, so keenly alive to a paltry personal luxury, to a trumpery thing of this world, laughs at your refinements and scruples in the house of God, and asks contemptuously what matters it if the architecture of a Church is not quite correct, so as the people think it pretty; what matters it, if ancient usages and canonical order are utterly neglected, so long as the church is convenient and comfortable? In the things of God, he appeals at once without scruple to the lowest standard of taste,—the vulgar; and to the lowest object of design,—bodily comfort. Nay, it is thought, *par excellence*, spiritual, to make a point of the most easy and indolent posture, the most exclusive gentility, and the most uninvaded privacy and most comfortable furnishing of one's pew, the most soothing warmth and stillness of atmosphere; though these considerations may clash ever so much with certain sacred proprieties: and on the other hand it is denounced, *par excellence*, as carnal, to avow

a preference in ecclesiastical arrangements for the glory of God and the honor of His Church over the world and the flesh, viz. our regard for the one, and the comfort of the other. Surely this is calling evil good, and good evil.

But it is said we are stickling for mere punctilios, which have no connection with vital religion, which may indeed be observed, but cannot be made a point of, consistently with vital religion. But what are these punctilios? That churches should be of certain dignified proportions and a certain sacred style,—that vulgar associations should be as much as possible excluded in their plan, materials, ornaments, &c.—that they should lie from east to west,—that there should be a middle aisle forming the main approach up to the altar,—that there should be a stone font sufficient for the practice of immersion at the chief entrance near the west end, and that the altar should be at the extreme east,—that it should not be thronged and pressed upon by the congregation,—that it and the parts about it should have a chief share of the ornament, and be the centre of attraction,—that the sittings should allow, and even encourage the congregation to kneel,—that the pulpit should not be *before*, or *over*, or by the side of the altar,—that nothing should be over the altar,—that churches should admit of all turning to the east, at least some part of the service, &c. &c. Now these usages refer to certain divine realities; and it is urged against us that a person may, to a great extent, believe the latter, and make a practical use of them, without observing the former, without having even heard of them. Let us take the parallel case of the usages of decent society. It requires its members to have houses, dress, and other equipments, of a certain style, to be “clothed in fine linen,” to wear certain apparel at certain times, to make and receive certain visits at certain intervals, and at certain times of the day; to observe certain rules in introducing acquaintances to one another, to pass from one room to another in a certain order, to sit at dinner, not “to eat with unwashed hands,” or without the aid of certain implements, and to observe on that occasion various forms troublesome enough to some people, to converse only on certain subjects, to leave the dining room in a certain order; to observe certain outward marks of respect to the person one is conversing with, such as turning one’s face to him or her; not to spit about, or smoke, or lounge, or sit on the table, or take off one’s coat if the room is warm; to use certain phrases of respect in all one’s communications; and an infinite number of other requisites, more indeed than any one could imagine, as he may find by attempting to particularize and count them. Now it is not disputed that these scruples have no necessary connection with morality or goodness. A man may be a very useful, benevolent, and in all



respects an estimable member of society, yet be remiss in some of these matters; nay, there are undoubtedly persons in this country, of wealth, information, and virtue, of great consideration and influence, and good Christians, who are not in the habit of observing a single one of these usages, and whom nobody thinks a bit the worse for it. Yet Christians, with all the higher qualifications we have mentioned, if they do but fail in one or two of these rules of good breeding, which do not pretend to be more than "traditions of men," are utterly banished, most religiously excommunicated, from the pale "of good society." If any one should attempt to introduce such persons thereto, he would not only be unsuccessful, but would make himself a sharer in their exclusion. Nor would we have it otherwise. The "customs of society" are in general easy enough to learn without guilt or sacrifice of more important considerations, therefore the non-observance of them is in general symptomatic of perverseness, self-will and obstinacy, an unaccommodating and unsocial temper; while the observance of them, though they seem in themselves ever so indifferent, is a wholesome discipline, and a security that the practiser will conform to public opinion in more serious matters. But it appears to us most strangely inconsistent, that the very same persons who are most precise and rigorous in enforcing the canons and denouncing the anathemas of "society," should strenuously advocate a vulgar, lax, slovenly, higgledy-piggledy order of things, as soon as they leave their *own* houses and come into the House of God. We are almost forced to the conclusion that there is something wrong in the excessive cultivation and multiplication of the elegancies and proprieties of the world, when we see they positively interfere with those of the Church; when we see that *very fine* gentlemen and ladies somehow or other *are not* good church people; when we see the pale of good society set up above the communion of saints.

But at present we would content ourselves with appealing to the testimony of the world in defence of our old ecclesiastical system. The world, by its example, countenances politeness and elegance, order and punctiliousness. These things seem to all most natural, nay, men fall into them by necessity; they constitute a vast portion of the affairs of mankind, they occupy a vast space in our minds, they are the chief material of our moral training. Then are we to depart out of our nature, state, condition, and training, out of our very minds, as soon as we come into the presence of God—that God who constituted our minds, our nature, state, condition, and training, what they are!

Mr. Carns Wilson's "Helps" are an act of kindness to the Church, for which we cannot be too grateful. Most people who have had to build a church become so utterly sick and weary of

masons and carpenters, that so soon as the bills are paid, they bind them together with a piece of strong cord, and throw them to the bottom of the deepest drawer, or the strongest box they can find, in the fervent hope that they may never have to call them from that deep again. In the joyful contemplation of the finished structure, they are determined to think as little of the process of building as their many painful reminiscences will allow. They look forward to the consecration as the day when they may drink a long oblivion of the past. But if they could only make up their mind to prolong their troubles for one brief fortnight, if they could just for that space defer the final sepulture of plans and estimates, and just endure to handle all the corroding details of materials, colours, length, breadth, depths and curves, angles and mouldings, enough to give their brethren the benefits of their own experience, they would almost double the service they have already done. The noblest and most useful works are commonly those which we begin when others are worn out and leave off. The racer wins by doubling his efforts in sight of the goal. In like manner we suggest to all our friends to whom it has fallen to build a church, to follow Mr. Carus Wilson's example. Why should every clergyman have to go about building a church, as if no such thing had ever been heard of in the memory of man, without any light from those who precede him in the track? Why should he have to make out for himself the first elements of church building? The information which is become familiar and common place to one who has built a church may be invaluable to one whose church is still in the future tense. If on that principle of kindness,

“Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco,”

any one who has built a church would just collect his plans, specifications, his bills, &c., and send them to the nearest printer to publish in a simple form, with two or three lithographic ground plans and elevations, we cannot indeed hold out to him any hope of profit, but we can ensure, that at an expense small compared with the benefit, he will furnish many useful hints in the way of taste, management, and economy, to all persons who are modest enough to take advice, and count the cost before they plunge into brick and mortar. The chief difficulties of church builders, and what prevent them from being much assisted by the more elaborate and professional works on the subject, are those which arise from *local* peculiarities; the *site*, distance from quarries, brick-kilns, or timber yards, and such circumstances; and it is obvious these are the very difficulties which will be remedied by a contribution of the experience of *many* different localities. We are sure that a hundred works on this plan might now be published without encroaching much on one another's provinces.

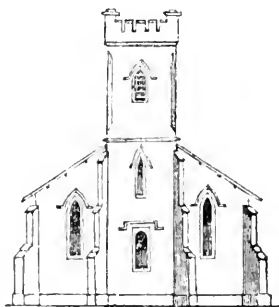
We are, therefore, far from thinking that Mr. Carus Wilson's book *supersedes* the necessity of others on his subject; but the above are not our only reasons for thinking so. This gentleman's theological school pervades his structure from the foundation to the roof, from the elevation to almost every fitting up. His book therefore calls for an antidote, and glad should we be if our remarks upon it should provoke the jealousy of some more Catholic church builder.

It would appear from the engravings which we have copied, that Casterton Chapel, though certainly a neat structure, and creditably free from any ornamental extravagance, is yet strictly "modern Gothic."

The want of elevation (for the side walls appear hardly more than half as high as the building is wide), the flat span of the slate roof, the light projecting eaves, the slender buttresses, considerably narrower than the lancet windows, the dwarf porch, the half developed chancel, the petty tower, whose starved dimensions the author himself laments, and which in fact scarcely emerges either in the elevation or the ground plan from the body of the Church, the unmeaning substitute for pinnacles, the angular canopy surmounting the niche in the west end, the chimney over the east end, are all undoubted modernisms, undoubtedly Protestant, undoubtedly indicative of a sentiment whose ideal is the neat, the snug, the

comfortable, squareness, cubeness, compactness, intelligibility, and self sufficiency. It also appears from the other plates, and the description, that there is no main aisle, but two narrow ones, in the Presbyterian fashion. The pews are all of those narrow dimensions (about two feet six inches in the clear, from back to back,) which discourage kneeling, while the still more niggardly allowance of the second class sittings, (about two feet two inches in the clear,) must render it absolutely impossible. The situation of the font also is contrary to the order and *rationale* of the Church.

"The font, which is of black Dent marble, and was, in a great measure, the kind gift of Mr. Nixon, the marble manufacturer, stands in a



recess at the front of the middle pews, directly facing the door of the communion rails. As the christenings are performed during the afternoon service, after the second lesson, with a view to the edification of the congregation, and the benefit of their prayers for the infant, the situation is decidedly the most convenient."—p. 9.

To which passage Mr. Carus Wilson appends the following note, illustrative of what we have called above the higgledy-piggledy system.

"A very neat portable font has been given to the new church at Stonyhurst, which *answers every purpose*, not requiring even the expense of a stand; as it might be placed when wanted *on the communion table, from which* the ceremony might be performed. The price is fourteen shillings: and it is to be had at Sharpur's, Pall Mall East, London."

As a set off against the portable font, which answers every purpose, price 14s., from Sharpur's, we have the following account of Mr. Carus Wilson's preparation for the other sacrament, (p. 11.)

"The Communion plate was got at Messrs. Rodgers, Sheffield, and the price was as follows:

	£	s.
Sheffield plate chalice . . . . .	1	11
Do. salver . . . . .	1	12
Best hard Britannia metal flagon . . . . .	0	16
	<hr/>	
	£3	19"
	<hr/>	

The church thus built and described is in some respects an adjunct to a clergy daughters' school, to whose accommodation a gallery, containing 130 sittings, is devoted. It is not to our present purpose to question the policy of accumulating in *one* mass the children of *one* profession, all in *one* phase of existence, viz., disappointed poverty. If these poor girls can brighten up one another's spirits, and muster a little cheerfulness amongst them, there is then a greater fund of elasticity in the human mind than we have thought for. But if anything more than another is not likely to give hope, romance, and elevation of character to this monotonous assemblage, it is such a place of worship as Casterton Chapel, and the *religio loci*, which it is likely to beget.

In the name of the Church and of true policy we must protest against the following passage:

"It is much to be regretted, that the money expended on many of our modern churches, and the statements even in some influential quarters of the necessary expenses of the erection of a church, have been calculated to discourage persons from the undertaking.

"How different would have been the condition of many of our modern churches, if half the money devoted to their erection had been re-

served for their endowment ! In many cases, a church would have lost nothing of its becoming and ecclesiastical character, and the melancholy spectacle would have been spared of a magnificent edifice, and a starving minister. A church, destitute of architectural propriety, is in no case recommended ; but the maintenance of that propriety is quite compatible with the strictest economy ; and in no way depends upon an expenditure, so injurious to the best interests of the Church itself, and so discouraging to many who would embark in church building.”—p. 7.

Now we believe this is contrary to the experience of all men whose vocation has engaged them in drawing money from the pockets of mankind. Rigorous economy in the administration of funds is not usually found to invite fresh contributions. Nature, our best teacher, does not practise these parsimonious methods : she is prodigal in her measures, and superfluous in her ornaments, beyond the utmost limit of necessity or use. However we may think ourselves under the guidance of reason, how few important steps we should take in life, prudent, virtuous, and noble as they may really be, if they were not recommended to our imagination by some unessential and perhaps deceitful charms. We are not really utilitarians, try as we may to be so. In temporal matters we know that the prospect of a bare sufficiency is not enough to tempt men to lives of labour and self-denial. The merest chance of superfluous wealth, of rank and luxury, is a far more efficacious incentive than absolute certainty of food and clothing. Our interest as well as our duty must be sweetened and highly coloured, or we shall not pursue it. To cut short our reflections, and bring them to bear on our subject, a church built with a profuseness of love and liberality is both a fitter offering to Almighty God, and a more attractive example to man, than those half-shabby, half-tawdry structures intended to *seat* poor populations at 30s. a head. It must be considered that the greater part of mankind has certain decided tastes, a deep-rooted preference for beauty, for grandeur, for antiquity, and such qualities, however little they may confess or know it, and however sinful the possession of such tastes may be in the eyes of religious economists. It may abstractedly be considered desirable to eradicate these tastes entirely, and clear away all that lies between the two opposite poles of absolute holiness and absolute sin, so that the mind, according as it is positively or negatively charged, may rapidly jump from one to the other, without the peril of mid positions, or step by step alterations. But these tastes seemingly intermediate between earth and heaven are so large, so pervading a part of human nature, that if any one could extract them all, he would stand aghast to see how little was left ; and as long as they do exist, people of ordinary goodness, if allowed their way, will prefer a religion in unison, rather than one in discordance with them.

In point of fact, churches were never so multiplied, were never so enlarged;—never did Christians so build with or without reason, never did they so embrace, discover, devise, opportunities, allowable or unallowable, for building churches, oratories, and chantries, and every order and shade of religious building, as when the style of architecture, more universally adopted than an imperial edict or parliamentary act of uniformity could ever have made it, was beyond all precedent elaborate, difficult and expensive. We have seen the traditional tomb of an architect, who is said to have built forty churches, in what may be called one neighbourhood, in the eastern counties. And what kind of buildings were they which started up in such numbers? Many of them, thrown away, as some would think, on small and secluded villages, would have been the chief architectural features of cities; of the most dignified proportions, with every ornament which the state of the arts and money could procure. The stone brought from a distance, the roofs of some of them carved and put together in Normandy. They were built by enthusiasts, not economists. Our author thinks “a magnificent edifice and a starving minister a melancholy spectacle.” But is not the more frequent spectacle of a starved edifice and a full-fed minister and congregation still more melancholy? By the way, how differently are spacious and splendid churches viewed in our age from what they were five centuries ago. *Now* Mr. Carus Wilson regards them with jealousy, as having probably stood in the minister’s light, by detracting from the endowment, and they are generally considered a drawback from the value of the living, whereas, in former times, they were themselves a mine of wealth. A large church would itself maintain so many priests by as certain a rule as a large field would feed so many head of cattle. Thus, in the *Beauties of England and Wales*, we read in the account of Howden Church, in Yorkshire:—

“Accordingly, on the 6th of March, A. D. 1267, Walter Gifford, Archbishop of York, after setting forth that the parish church of Howden *was very wide and large*, and the rents and profits so much abounding as to be sufficient for many spiritual men, ordained at the instance and petition of his chapter of York, that there might be prebends endowed out of the revenues of the church, and, by the consent of the prior and convent of Durham, appointed that there should be five prebends for ever; and each of them to maintain, at his own proper costs, a priest and clerk in holy orders, to administer in the same in canonical habit, according to the custom of the church of York, and to observe the same mode of singing as that of York, except in Matins, which they should say in the morning for the parish; and one of them, who should be the most fit, was to be rector of the choir, and ordain things belonging to Divine service; and each of them, as an hebdomedary, was orderly to keep his turn, and serve the cure of the parish, by his respective

priest, in the portion assigned to him. \* \* In the same year a sixth prebend was added to the five originally established."

We must, however, confess that it is only Mr. Carus Wilson's *principle* of sparing expense we protest against. We are quite content that *he* should, whether by choice or necessity, adhere to the practice. The first regret that rises in our heart at the sight of many of our modern churches is, that the purses and ambition of the founders had not even been more limited. These productions in that case would not have been so flagrantly ugly, and would not at least have gained such perpetuity of ugliness. The most offensive are generally the most unnecessary features in them. Nothing can be more respectable than contented poverty;—it is poverty which unsuccessfully apes the manners and tastes of wealth which is ridiculous.

Among the suggestions of minor importance, which we cannot commend, is the following, (p. 8). "The walls inside are done in stone finish, lined, and stone-coloured; which gives a much more comfortable appearance than common plaster, and is a very slight extra expense." There is an obtrusiveness of imitation in plaster lined and coloured, to look more like stone than stone itself, very contrary to the spirit of genuineness which ought to pervade a church. Besides, Gothic architecture *hides* the joining of the stones, and deals with its material as if it were all one. It either has the roughest masonry, viz., mere rubble, which answers the same purpose as the roughness of Burgess's pencils, and makes one see the building through a sort of misty medium, or it has the finest masonry. Indeed it keeps in the back-ground as much as possible the fact of the building being the "work of men's hands." It also keeps the material itself in the back-ground. It prefers small to large stones, and mere choppings to blocks. It builds cathedrals with the stones which the builders of a heathen temple would have refused. We are disposed to go *almost* as far as Mr. Carus Wilson in his suggestion of random walls, (p. 10,) though it will be difficult to save them from a common and slovenly appearance. With reference to the above plan of "stone finish, *lined*, &c." for the inside, we will add that nothing conflicts with Gothic curves and mouldings so much as those rectangular divisions, which are so frequent and so congenial in the styles of Greece and Rome. It would only provoke a smile to talk of facing our interiors with stone; we will therefore content ourselves with recommending in place of any imitation thereof, a common wash, of a somewhat colder, *i. e.* bluer tint than what is generally adopted. *Warm* tints have too modern, domestic, and comfortable an effect; they also overpower the natural play of lights and colours produced by the state of the

atmosphere, which is nowhere seen more beautiful than on the grayish, greenish, whitewash of an old village church.

Again we find

“the windows are glazed with diamond panes in lead, and square panes round the sides. The square panes are painted a light orange colour, which has a very good effect; and the diamond panes on the whole of the south side are done in imitation of ground glass, to keep out the sun. The expense of this is very trifling: indeed, *all the windows* in the church would have been done in imitation of ground glass for a sum scarcely exceeding five pounds.”—p. 11.

The unfortunate cheapness of this last operation is no more argument in its favour than it is a reason for breaking all the windows to atoms, that it could be done at still less expense, or even gratis. The pale, sickly, monotonous and shadowless light of ground glass is the most unsuitable of all for a Gothic church. We grant that in many churches we find a sort of *necessity* for shading the windows in some way or other, but this does not prevent the remedy being an evil.

The historical account of this necessity is rather curious. As far as *quantity* of light is concerned, our forefathers considered that a few narrow lancet windows, glazed with coarse green glass, gave as much light as they considered proper for a church. But the use of painted glass led them to enlarge the lancet, or to unite several together so as to form the windows called perpendicular, florid, and so forth. The beauty of painted glass, as well as its obstruction of the light, eventually led, both from choice and necessity, to the use of windows so large that we may say nearly *all* our ancient churches, from the cathedral to the smallest oratory, are very considerably *overlighted*, on the supposition of plain glass being used. They are not now seen in their proper dress. They are like the face of nature in winter, without leaves or flowers. Thus the interior of Salisbury Cathedral is as light as the open air; nay, in a sense, it is lighter; for out of doors, in nature's dreariest scene, there is an infinite variety of light and shade, and still greater variety of hue; but in that building, as reformers and puritans have left it, there is no relief, no repose: with inconsiderable exception all is one equally monotonous shadowless, colourless, medium; nothing recedes, nothing stands out. The proportions suffer, for neither height nor length are felt in the glaring mass of daylight: the plan suffers still more; the transepts, which once threw in, athwart the solemn nave, a transverse flood of mysteriously coloured light, now produce no characterising effect; they are become merely side recesses. The cathedral is reduced to one great airy room. The aisles are no longer depths of shade, the lofty pillars and arches no longer stand out in bold relief, bathed in copious streams of light and



colour from the high clerestory windows, every stone from the vault above to the pavement under our feet seeming instinct with life.

It may be that we shall never see this scene again. Even if men should ever again be gifted from heaven with the taste and skill to restore what has been destroyed, it will perhaps only be to make fresh work for sacrilegious hands. May be it is for the Church's real good that she should only imagine, only conceive, only enjoy for a time, and that with sore alloy; only remember, and that with pain, such glorious scenes as one of our old cathedrals in its prime of youth and love. So shall we best fix our eyes on the spiritual contemplation of "that great city, the holy Jerusalem," which Saint John, in the spirit, saw "descending out of the heaven from God, having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal; \* \* \* \* and the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. \* \* \* \* And the building of the wall of it was of jasper: and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald; the fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst. And the twelve gates were twelve pearls; every several gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass." Meanwhile the wicked are permitted to trouble, and to break down with axes and hammers the carved work of our sanctuaries; and perhaps even to burn up with fire the holy and beautiful houses where our fathers praised God, and to lay waste all our pleasant places.

But to return to the subject before us, our churches having been nearly all built or altered with a view to painted glass, nay, having often been built to receive particular painted windows, as soon as this essential part of their plan was destroyed, there was immediately found to be double or treble the quantity of aperture sufficient for light. In spite of bad glass, windows wholly or partially bricked up, curtains, galleries, and staircases, lofty screens, and all the other numberless accretions of the last three centuries, they are still greatly too light. The restorations of the present age, by opening windows, substituting larger panes of clear white glass, clearing away heavy screens and partitions, and lowering pew walls, have in fact accidentally increased the evil, and rendered the glare of our churches, especially those of the later styles, quite intolerable, not only to the mental feeling, but even

to the bodily eye. We know of several cases besides St. Mary's at Oxford, where such restorations have been subsequently amended with ground glass or holland blinds, which have made us regret the previous small green panes of half decomposed glass which did us good service without our knowing it.

But this leads us to notice the inconsistency of *building* new churches with windows suited only to painted glass, though the builders may not only have no intention, but even have a decided objection to that material. Our modern churches are as light as greenhouses, so that after all the north and south windows have been cut in two by galleries, and modified with ground glass or blinds; after the great west window has been entirely concealed by the organ, after the east window has been somewhat subdued with a green baize curtain rising up half its height, even then the church is offensively light. The devout worshipper cannot hide himself from day's garish eye; the anxious listener, trying to watch the lips of the preacher, can scarce with aching eyes detect anything but a dark outline projected on a dazzling field of light behind; which latter evil is of course not a little aggravated when the pulpit is placed in the middle aisle.\* Much as some of our modern church builders will be shocked to hear it, they have entailed the necessity of painted glass on the commonest principles of comfort and convenience; and if a revival of taste and an increase in the number of clergymen should put an end to galleries, and bring into view the whole of the windows which they now partially obstruct, there will be found an absolute necessity for more painted glass, and for deeper shades, than a few light orange panes round the sides, such as Mr. Carus Wilson has introduced at Casterton.

We do not like "windows glazed with diamond panes in lead and *square panes round the sides.*" The panes should *all* be diamond, as in that case the diagonal lines of division not only do not interfere with the plan of the stone work, but set off its perpendicular lines to better advantage. Necessity requires some mechanical arrangement of the glass, and that should be as uniform and as *contrary* to the bearings of the mullions and tracery as possible. Square panes, *i. e.* horizontal and perpendicular divisions, make confusion; still worse do "square panes round the sides," *i. e.* lines in the lead work, purposely following the mullions at the distance of a few inches, especially when they further attempt to adapt themselves to the tracery. We have seen such lines actually

\* We are informed that at a well known fashionable chapel in the metropolis, where this inconvenience was felt, it has been made the occasion of a most successful piece of dramatic display. While the preacher is ascending the pulpit, a red curtain slowly descends behind it. The effect, we are told by those who have witnessed it, is truly imposing.

increase to clumsiness the apparent effect of slender mullions. We must warn such of our readers as are likely to tempt the dangerous seas of church building, that no class of people require more sharply looking after than the painters, glaziers, and other subordinates in that complicated work. Even without Mr. Carus Wilson to advise them, their own heads are sufficiently fruitful in evil devices to make them unsafe to be left alone.

In a country church, where the parsonage is close at hand, there seems little need of a vestry. It is useful of course to the crack preachers of the metropolis, some of whom sit there and comfort themselves during the service, that they may come forth fresh as giants to the event of the day—the sermon. It is said also, that Doctor Parr used to illustrate his attachment to rural psalmody, by smoking in the vestry during the performances of the choir, which were purposely accommodated to the time usually occupied by a pipe. But few country clergymen will emulate either of these examples, and there is really nothing they would do in a vestry, which may not be done with perfect propriety in the church. We think it desirable to *avoid* the appearance of privacy in the movements of the clergyman. Yet it is the fashion now to consider it indispensable, and manifold therefore are the shifts which modern church contrivers are thrown upon, by the difficulties which a vestry seems to throw in the way of that other *sine quâ non*, external uniformity. The idol of taste and the idol of convenience cannot be brought to agree. Mr. Carus Wilson makes a vestry out of the lower story of the tower: and gives the drawing of a large square window with two mullions, lighting the ground floor of the tower at Hurst Green, a sister Church to Casterton, and recommends it as preferable to the smaller window occupying the same place at the latter. If there must be a vestry, why not add it to the side of the building, where something is often wanted to break the mass. But Mr. Carus Wilson's mode of finding room for a vestry is not so objectionable as some others, which this ingenious age has brought into vogue.

We quite agree with Mr. Carus Wilson in thinking fine ashlar work unnecessary, and even unsuitable for ordinary village churches—and we regret that much expense has been wasted on squaring and smoothing stones, which might have been applied in procuring good proportions, in dispensing with galleries, and in other such unquestionable advantages. Casterton church, we are told, “is built of limestone, and the stones are placed in course, but are very little hammered beyond what is necessary for securing the joints; and indeed the rough appearance is preferred, as giving more the appearance of antiquity.”—(p. 8). He even recommends random walls, whose poverty, he says, may be con-

cealed by ivy, which will repay the kindness by protecting the walls and foundations from rain. It is sincerely to be hoped that this is true : and that if it be true, ivy will be very generally used as a veil of charity to cover the sins of most of our modern structures. With the following suggestions also we entirely concur:—

“ Whatever style or plan is adopted, it is strongly recommended to avoid the use of valley gutters. They are troublesome enough, especially in snow, in private houses, where there is every advantage of care ; but in the case of a Church it is well to guard as far as possible against the chance of injury arising from the uncertain attentions of those who have the charge of it. If the snow is left to melt in a valley-gutter, it must unavoidably find its way under the slate and damage the interior.”—p. 12.

“ The open roof, with ceiling laid on the spars, cannot be too strongly recommended. It is most in Church character, as far as appearance is concerned ; and while no bad effect results to the voice of the clergyman, if common care be taken, it is most favorable for the effect of singing and the organ. At Hurst Green, where a church is building upon exactly the same plan, the situation being exposed, it was recommended to plank the roof entirely, like a boarded floor, before slating, in order to give additional security to the slates ; this plan has certainly advantages. The spars are so contrived as to present inside square compartments, which are smooth and will be painted oak colour pannelled ; superseding the necessity of plaster ceiling. The internal appearance, as well as the security of the roof will be greatly benefited ; and as the additional expense is only about 30*l.* excepting painting, it is decidedly recommended in all cases.”—p. 8, 9.

Shingles are better, more agreeable to the eye, and more durable than slating ; and the compartments between the spars should not be square. Mr. Bardwell, we observe, objects strongly to *plastering* between the spars, but it must be remembered, that a planked roof, covered not with lead, but slate, will not be air tight, which in this climate is perhaps necessary, at least part of the year. But the plan of the roof which Mr. Carus Wilson has presented to us, is of that sort which least bears to be exposed. The tie-beams do not rest on the walls ; there are therefore required braces passing obliquely from the foot of the rafters on one side, to the corresponding rafters on the other, at three-fourths of their height. The inclination of these braces makes, so to speak, a discord with the inclination of the rafters. The common kind of roof, with the tie-beam resting on the walls, is less objectionable. If the principal of the roof can be made to assume the form of an arch, without having really any lateral pressure, that will best suit a church ; but the Westminster-Hall kind of roof is too complicated a *compages*, and has too artificial an air for a sacred building.

Mr. Carus Wilson is entitled to the gratitude of Churchmen for *not* putting his reading desk and pulpit right before the altar ; but quite clear of it, at the north-east corner of the Church ; and

for leaving a decent interval between the rails of the chancel and the seats of the congregation.

Mr. Shaw's book is evidently produced under the pressure of the times. A large population, anxious to have its religion manufactured at the smallest cost, drives the modern architect to do violence to his taste, to make the best of a bad job, and to put forth plans which he himself perhaps is the first to condemn. Scarce a church rises from the ground anywhere, except now and then in some unwonted hour of public munificence, or under the kindly influence of some wealthy patron, which does not bear evidence of the hard limitations which cramped the designer's fingers—

“ Chill poverty repressed his noble rage,  
And froze the genial current of his soul.”

Mr. Shaw's propositions are in our opinion very valuable, and deserve a careful consideration; but while the *deserve* it, they also *require* it. They are suggested, he says, by the contemplation of the Lombard architecture, chiefly, it appears, as exhibited in Mr. Hope's interesting work, p. 30, “containing,” as Mr. Shaw remarks, “in an eminent degree, the qualities now so important; these appear to be, first, economy; secondly, facility of execution; thirdly, strict simplicity, combined with high capability of ornament; fourthly, durability; fifthly, beauty.

We were quite prepared for the attempt to adapt that style to modern churches, having spent some time on it ourselves on the first appearance of Mr. Hope's book, though we cannot flatter ourselves on our success. A modified adoption of this style may be considered the main project in this publication, but as parts of it and as additions to it, Mr. Shaw proposes the use of two stories of pillars and arches in interiors, the lower one to support the galleries; the use of undisguised brick both inside and out; the exposure of the timbers of the roof; the use of red deal, merely varnished; and an increased number of doorways. After expressing with greater resignation than becomes the dignity of an artist, his acquiescence in the conditions imposed on him, “to provide in the interior arrangements the most ample accommodation, at the least possible expense,” he thus proceeds:—

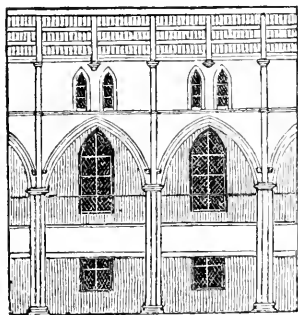
“To this necessity may be traced the introduction of galleries, obviously the readiest means afforded by the nature of the case for the fulfilment of that condition; but it is the object of the following pages to show, if possible, *first*, that this apparent necessity has unavoidably caused considerable deviation from the principles, and fatal injury to the character and effect of the various beautiful styles of architecture adopted; and, *secondly*, that this alleged necessity may be entirely divested of the objectionable circumstances which have been attendant upon it, by the employment of a principle simple and graceful in itself, supported by

ancient authority and success, and complying partly with the unavoidable demand made by existing causes for the strictest economy.

"That the perpendicular line, the prevailing principle and genius of the early English and Tudor architecture, is most obtrusively and oppressively violated by the introduction of the horizontal lines, of the modern gallery, is a fact, which has, I doubt not, in numberless instances, excited the regret of architects, on whom circumstances have forced its employment ; a regret, heightened by the reflection, not only that their lofty aisles must be severed by these inevitable horizontal lines : but by the observation that the extent and flatness of the surfaces, bounded by those lines, presented another, and if possible a more powerful proof of the incongruity and incompatibility between the gallery and the rest of the erection.

"My attention having for some time been directed to this subject, and having been recently engaged in the design of a Church proposed to be built under the direction of her Majesty's Commissioners, I have endeavoured to introduce, for its internal arrangement, a principle new

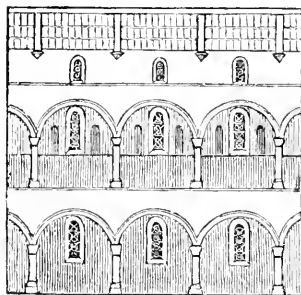
A



in its application to modern Churches ; and which, while it obviates the imperfection to which I have adverted, is sound in its construction, and would, as I am about to show, be attended with no additional expense."—pp. 5—7.

"Plate 1, letter A, exhibits the ordinary principle of modern church building ; the gallery front crossing the arches of the side aisles and dividing the windows ; they are constructed with timber framing, covered with boarding ; the piers they rest upon are generally from fourteen feet to seventeen feet apart ; their material being usually stone or iron.

B



"Plate 1, letter B, and Plate 2,\* (which exhibit the principle I beg respectfully to suggest), represent the gallery supported on a series of semi-circular arches of fourteen inch brick-work, resting on slender iron columns, ten feet apart, which is the distance prescribed by the regulations of her Majesty's Commissioners for the space between the 'tie beams of the roof and the main timbers of the gallery.' The front of the gallery is proposed to be constructed of nine inch brick-work ; over the lower arches is a simi-

\* We have not attempted a copy of this plate. It may be as well to notice here an error in our copy of Plate 1, letter A. In Mr. Shaw's engraving the gallery is made to divide in two one long window. In our cut the window is made to appear two distinct ones.

lar range of arches, upon the system of the ancient triforium, these support the clerestory, the walls of which are represented of fourteen inch brick-work."—pp. 8, 9.

We will not follow Mr. Shaw through his comparative estimates, which at least have the advantage of going into the minutest details; and we must also refer our readers to the work itself for a very pretty and elaborate perspective view of an interior designed on his principle, by which he adds, "I think it will be allowed that much effect is produced by the repetition of the double tier of arches, and the simplicity of its lines."

It is obvious that this is not to be considered a copying of the Lombard style, but a development of it, retaining only a certain slight resemblance to the original. That style is remarkable for *gravity*, for massiveness, and such severe graces; the plans before us aspire only to elegance. The interior before us is wholly composed of some exterior features of the old style, and those only the ornamental features. Parts only used sparingly and by way of relief in the one, are made the prevailing ingredient of the other. Small columns supporting small semi-circular arches may look well on the campanile, or on any other ornamental adjunct to the main building; but our impression is they have not dignity, or even appearance of strength sufficient for the nave of the church. Again, though they were undoubtedly used to relieve the surface of walls, which otherwise from their vastness and from the smallness of the windows would have looked bare, it does not follow that they can with propriety be made to stand alone as they do in Mr. Shaw's designs. It is, by the way, remarkable to observe how the playful variations on simple architectural themes which are common and allowable in mere ornamental work, sometimes give rise to changes in the very principles of architectural composition. On the painted parlour walls of Pompeii we may trace the germs of subsequent, but still distant corruptions of the classic style.

Mr. Shaw appeals to the triforia, which, especially abroad, were often used as galleries; but how would a nave look consisting wholly of triforia? We opine it would look somewhat like a theatre.

He also refers to the semi-circular arches from column to column in the Basilicas constructed in the fourth century. But what columns are those? How lofty and how massive! From Mr. Shaw's own measurements it appears that all the cast iron pillars of the Church he has designed, including both tiers, would not together form a bundle so thick as one of the Parian columns in the Basilica of St. Paul.

The builder would have work enough to make the lower tier support the one above, and a few feet of clerestory above that; he must not think of more lofty proportions, or of thickness of wall and depth of window recesses;—he must also content himself, at least in the aisles, with the lowest possible pitch of roof, which, however it may be kept down, will still almost prevent the clerestory windows from being externally visible.

Again, a composition of two stories, the one exactly equal and similar to the other, will be intolerable from its sameness; though Mr. Shaw seems to think that repetition in the present instance to be of itself a beauty. This evil can only be amended by increasing the height and thickness of the pillars and the inter-columniations in the *lower* tier; but here comes another difficulty: the lower tier is already too high for convenience: the pulpit must be raised enough to command the galleries, *i. e.* in the plan before us must be raised to nearly half the height of the church, a dizzy elevation, to which even the most ambitious popular preacher would hardly aspire. Mr. Shaw says, “The interior I have represented would be rendered more architecturally effective were the arches more lofty;” but let him not dream that his plan is the simple element of an expansive principle: the pulpit must still follow the galleries, and if the upper arches are made more lofty, the lower under the galleries must in all architectural propriety at *least* keep pace with them. This is Mr. Shaw’s real reason or rather necessity for raising the galleries so high, though with an amusing want of candour, he says, “the height from the floor of the Church to the underside of the gallery, is increased beyond its ordinary elevation, to secure better ventilation, and at the same time to enable the congregation at the north and south sides of the Church under the gallery to command a view of the preacher without obstruction from the spandrils of the arch.”—p. 18.

Moreover the spandrils of the arches supporting the galleries, which will be an obstruction to the view of the preacher *wherever* the pulpit is placed, will render it absolutely necessary that the pulpit be placed in the middle aisle; a most serious evil in our humble opinion; and accordingly Mr. Shaw has represented in his perspective view a most aerial pulpit, with winding staircase, completely hiding the altar, and spoiling the effect of a very handsome and ecclesiastical east end.

The following are Mr. Shaw’s remarks on the use of brick:—

“I may remark, also, that by the adoption of the principle adverted to, all the perpendicular surface of the interior of buildings so constructed, might be faced with the light-coloured brick in lieu of plastering or boarding; and doubtless, an addition in durability would be thus gained; while I apprehend that from the actual construction of the



building being apparent, a pleasing effect would be produced on the eye; at the same time it is but fair to say, that there might possibly exist a prejudice in the public mind against it, from the use of so common a material; and also that the surface might not be so desirable for the transmission of sound."—p. 19.

And further on he observes :—

"The absence of mullions or tracery in the windows, and the means of executing (from the smallness of their parts) all the beautiful characteristics of the style in brickwork, confirm as I apprehend this opinion, (of the suitability of the early Norman or Lombard to the purposes and conditions of modern Church building) I lay great stress on this circumstance, as regards economy: for I am persuaded, that very admirable architectural effect may be produced externally, as well as internally, by the employment of this common material alone, without even bestowing extra work upon it; nor does it unfrequently happen that this very necessity is the source of excellence; for much ingenuity, both in design and construction, has been displayed by architects where they have been limited in their resources.

"This opinion appears to derive considerable weight from the effect which the employment of extremely small masses, (as observed in the buildings of the early Norman architects,) had upon the style and peculiarity of their works. The origin of this peculiarity (whether accounted for by the difficulty of obtaining the material for their structures in large masses, or of raising it, when obtained, to great perpendicular height), it is not my business at present to inquire: from whatever cause it arose, the results of this practice bear with the same favourable force in support of my argument. As to the effectiveness of brick architecture, I can, on the high authority of Mr. Hope, allude to many eminent examples. In the 29th chapter of his *Essay*, p. 295, he states, that 'even at Constantinople brick was used in the most considerable buildings: it formed the interior of Santa Sophia's vast copula; and of that ancient edifice in the Blackernæ, called the Palace of Belisarius, the whole surface presents a chequer-work of brick of various hues.' In the same page, he says, 'At Rome, all those Lombard square bell towers, of six or eight stories, added to the ancient Churches, are entirely of brick, save the small columns that support their small arches.' And thus again the later pointed churches at Milan, at Pavia, at Monza, and elsewhere, are entirely of brick, even to their most delicate tabernacle work and tracery."—p. 23.

We quite agree with Mr. Shaw in respecting the prejudice against brick. It is a reproach to a Christian city, if its churches are not built of stone, and that of the best work, that they may not be in any respect inferior to the domestic buildings around them. But with the funds usually at the disposal of the architect, or rather of his committee, stone cannot be used without the sacrifice of more important objects. Roman cement is commonly thought the second best material; but we have strong prejudices in favor of the genuine over the superficial, and would

place it much lower. It is true that it is so good a coating, that a brick wall faced with cement is much stronger and dryer than one of equal thickness faced with stone; yet it is a *vulgar* material and does not present the *idea* of durability, however durable it may really be. It seems also unfit for churches, because the cement itself is of a dead displeasing colour, and requires a wash, which needs constant renewal. A building of this material, therefore, can never be allowed to proceed to the "green old age" of weather stain and lichen, which is the great beauty of our old churches. Above all is this material unfit for village churches, which must be adapted to stand not only time, but *neglect*, being commonly not so much kept in complete repair, as just prevented from falling below a certain stage of decay. A church which year by year must be washed young again, is like an old lady with rouge. In spite, therefore, of the infrequency of brick in old English churches we are disposed to put it before a mere imitation of stone, as being a genuine material not requiring constant renewal. It is very difficult, to be sure, to reconcile oneself to the use of brick in any shape, though now so common. The Tower of Babel and Pharaoh's treasure cities Pithom and Raamses were built of brick, and one would gladly leave them entirely to secular purposes. Every church we build is an emblem of that heavenly Church whereof we are lively stones, and whereof Christ himself is the head stone of the corner; and therefore one does not like to see it built of the same materials as the neighbouring row of houses or manufactory. Nor do we think that the white or yellowish brick now used for churches about London, and which Mr. Shaw recommends for his Lombard interior is any improvement, though we can assign little reason for our antipathy to it except its associations. As long as it is new it is very raw and staring, and after a few years smoke it produces a colder and more cheerless compound of colour than red brick under the same circumstances.

However, as we have limited means at our disposal, and as we have in the course of our observations drawn considerably from these means, we will, for the present, condescend to the economical. There is a certain kind of beauty from the combination of brick and stone—nay, if we have the alternative of stone, or no galleries, we confess we should be content with *all* brick, to clear our churches of those modern incumbrances. In buildings of brick, with corners and mouldings of stone, we think in rural situations, where lichen and weather stains may be expected to harmonize the two materials, it is as well, or even better, to make the joinings of the stone with the brick irregular; but this will not do in towns, where the smoke will

prevent the growth of lichen, and where also the eye is more accustomed to neatness and regularity than to the picturesque.

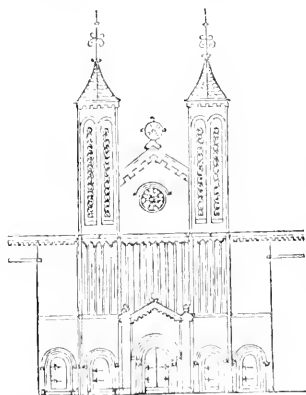
We venture one suggestion on the use of bricks, with all due deference to builders and brickmakers, viz. the production of an antique effect by old shaped bricks longer and flatter than those now in use; such, for example, as the bricks in the ruins of St. Botolph's, at Colchester. Their uncommon and ancient appearance, coupled with the incidental advantage of being necessarily better burnt, might compensate for all the additional expense. Mr. Shaw alludes to "the pleasing effect of the actual construction of the building being seen," and though this principle cannot be acted upon without great caution, no one can fail to admire the effect of the Roman bricks in arches. Bricks burnt blue are more suitable to churches than those of the common colour. The finest Gothic mouldings and the smallest pillars and arches may be executed in bricks made for the purpose. The double duty on shaped bricks has unfortunately extinguished this source of the picturesque in domestic architecture, but the duty is remitted on materials used for churches. In some of our old churches a very rich and elaborate effect is produced by the use of a few simple mouldings perfectly within the reach of an ordinary brickmaker. Elizabethan chimneys and mouldings in bricks shaped at the kiln, are being now very generally introduced again into domestic architecture, with great success, and at less expense than was expected.

We have already expressed ourselves favourable to exposing the timbers of the roof; and Mr. Shaw's perspective view makes one anxious to see it tried. In order however to a good effect, it will be necessary that the chief timbers should be stouter than those represented, or than the lightness of his structure would bear. We must observe that in one at least of the Basilicas mentioned in the following extract, viz. St. Paul's, the timbers were gilt, or rather covered with plates of gold. Bronze beams were also generally used; so little notion had the Romans of hiding that part of the building. The magnificent canopy over the high altar at St. Peter's was made out of the bronze beams which once adorned the portico of the Pantheon. When the completion of our railroads has reduced iron to its former price, perhaps we shall see the use of hollow beams of that metal, bronzed, gilt or plated, after the ancient fashion.

"While on the subject of internal arrangement," says Mr. Shaw, "I would recommend the exposure of the timbers of the roof. With regard to its appearance, the same observations I have just made as to the pleasing result arising from actual construction being apparent will apply also here; and my recommendation on this head is strengthened

by the description which Mr. Hope gives of the magnificent effect produced in the first Christian Basilicas, partly arising from the exposure of their roofs. In his Essay, chap. ix. p. 93, he says, that 'the body of these Christian Basilicas, which from their floor to their ceiling possessed not, except in their antique columns, a single moulding or member projecting from their flat perpendicular surface, and over their naked walls only presented the bare transverse timbers of their ceiling and roof, resembled huge barns of the most splendid materials, but huge barns which from the simplicity, the distinctness, the magnificence, the harmony of their component parts, had a grandeur which we in vain seek in the complicated architecture of modern churches.' The inclined sides of the roof being boarded, it is capable of demonstration that a better surface for the conduction of sound would be obtained than with the flat plaster ceiling hitherto so frequently adopted. While on this subject I may also remark on another very important element in the effect of all works of architectural art—I allude to colour. By using the red pine, well varnished, for the roofs and pewing, the beautiful appearance of cedar is given; by this means some little expense in painting would be saved, and the work would be equally well preserved; this plan has been adopted with success in private buildings which have come under my observation."

The recent appearance of personal discomfort has made Mr. Shaw speak with considerable feeling and strength of "the want of a sufficient number and capacity of outlets" in the churches of populous neighbourhoods. When the retiring tide of an abundant congregation has to *debouche* through a narrow mouth, it is sometimes driven back by stress of weather, and stagnates in its bed, i.e. in the aisles and passages; a situation of great suspense and annoyance to those who happen to be far back in the tail of the ebbing stream, especially at the critical hour of dinner. Now we



cannot answer for our own feelings, if, after sitting out a long sermon, we had found ourselves in for another three-quarters of quiet suffering, but are certainly disposed to meet the difficulty in a different way from Mr. Shaw. It will be seen, in the accompanying drawing, he gives his church as much door-way as the width of the front will allow. This impairs the simplicity and the unity of an otherwise graceful elevation, and reminds us of the boxes, pit and gallery entrances of a theatre.

But this complaint, for which there really is some ground, reminds us of one or two more serious inconveniences in the construction of modern churches than an occasional stoppage at the doors. It is desirable that a church

in a city should not be entered too abruptly; that there should be not a mere lobby, not merely an interval with two or three doors to keep out the wind, not merely a sort of dry-dock to divest ourselves of one's foul weather equipment, but a deep portico, or still better a vestibule or *pronaos*. There should be something to create the idea of retirement and distance from the public thoroughfare, like the ante-chapels at our colleges. A few yards length of cloister would answer this purpose, be easily obtained, and be very convenient. The naves of our cathedrals and collegiate churches were designed, amongst other uses, for a moral interval, and also for an intervening state of mental employment between divine worship and more secular affairs. Gradations are the outworks of sanctity. Religious meditation and even a certain tone and certain topics of conversation are sacred employments, and it would be well if the plan and arrangement of our churches allowed and encouraged them without directly interfering with their most sacred uses. The circular part of the Temple Church is an example of what we mean, though many other kinds of edifice, even a mere open arcade, would answer the same purpose at less cost and with more convenience. It might be always open during the day, as Guildhall is, without inconvenience; it might be the place for sepulchral monuments and for other memorials and inscriptions of a not entirely secular character. Such a plan would both facilitate the egress of a crowd anxious to make the best of its way out of church; and, if by unfortunate accident any persons should still be compelled to stay a few minutes longer on sacred ground than they had previously resigned their minds to, they might, without impropriety, beguile the time by pacing up and down, and even conversing, in a place of qualified sanctity, and they might perhaps find topics of serious reflection in its storied windows and historic walls.

Such an appendage to our churches would also be a proper place for public business of a mixed character, and for those legal notices which ought not to be obtruded on the eyes of the Christian on the point of falling down before the presence of his Maker, and yet have so much ecclesiastical bearing that they ought not to be entirely excluded from the sacred precincts and utterly profaned. As our duty to God does not constitute the whole of religion, so we do not object to seeing our duty to our neighbour, even in the forbidding dress of a tax-gatherer's notice, being allowed a certain place about our churches. Surely the way in which these things are spoken of in Scripture, and some of the incidents in the Gospels, are of themselves enough to give a degree of sanctity to these matters, *according to which degree* we would have them recognized in sacred ground.

If, as some appear to doubt, the spirit of this age allowed it, all our churches were so arranged and so left open that Christians might be there at other times and for other purposes than public worship, what a delightful retirement, what a needful rest of body and mind it would be to many a wearied and distracted soul. How beneficial to many the merely passing along the sacred aisle might prove! Nor probably are they few whom this world's shame and their own irresolution of purpose keep from entering the sacred threshold, when the act would stamp them at once for devotees; but who yet would gladly seek and linger in a place which, while it encouraged prayer and holy meditation, still left it inward and unseen; and who perhaps from such beginnings, humble though they be, might afterwards be won to bolder and more methodic piety.

How few places have we for religious converse and meditation like the walks and porticos which the school of Greek philosophy so frequented, as even thence to derive their names. They still show at the beautiful church of Brant Broughton in Lincolnshire the aisle along which Warburton used to pace in rainy weather while composing his *Divine Legation*; but few of our largest churches, as now fitted up, will permit or at least encourage such a practice. In point of fact they are hermetically sealed, till wanted, that is, from one act of public worship to another, as if the Deity whom therein we worshipped were all that time asleep. They usually seem but the graves of the Church. They are made only for one act and hour of service. The churchman passes from the outer door to his seat just as he does on entering a stage-coach, without interval, without preamble, without alternative. The two hours journey over, he leaves his pew and the church at once. His movements are in a grove. He cannot even look about him; not during service, for then his duty otherwise engages him—not after, for then he is hurried out down the narrow aisle in the dense retreating column; and if he should voluntarily stay ten minutes after, he would provoke the curiosity, perhaps the interference of the beadle. Many have frequented churches for years, and never seen more of them than came within the prospect from their own pews.

But we have wandered far from Mr. Shaw, to whom we will return just to repeat, that his suggestions are, as a whole, very valuable, and are given in an interesting form; but, that we hope, either he or some one else will give them a little further consideration, before he adds to the many nondescript structures starting around us, a church pretending to be in the Lombard style. Our jealousy for the indigenous English orders tempts us to predict that no style of foreign growth will ever answer here.

Mr. Alfred Smith's work is a very interesting collection of views of churches in the new parliamentary borough of Stroud, so ingeniously manipulated a few years ago out of some score villages, townships, hamlets, &c. &c. But it is our business to consider this miserably over-populous district of clothiers, in its relation to another kind of Reform; which it certainly did need, and we fear needs still. Mr. Smith observes in his preface, "that nearly two-thirds of the present churches in this district were erected, when the population of the whole county did not exceed the numbers now contained in the borough of Stroud." The amounts of population and church accommodation, appended by Mr. Smith to his account of each parish, sufficiently proves, as he says, "the great want of church room, notwithstanding the great efforts lately made and still making throughout this district by the friends of the Church to obviate this deficiency." It appears from the views before us, that at least six new churches have been built within a few years, and the profits of this publication are to be applied to the funds of another proposed at Stroud. This is very creditable, when we consider the other immense, and even more peremptory, demands on charity which this district has witnessed for some time past, owing to the failure of its branch of manufacture, whole parishes of the poor having been supported for months together, as we are informed, by the voluntary assistance of clergymen and their friends. Mr. Smith is an artist, and has for his subject a country of which he says, with an artist's enthusiasm, "he believes no part of England has more picturesque variety of landscape within a given number of square miles." His very interesting drawings certainly go some way to bear him out in this assertion: but as it does not come within our scope to notice his woods and hills, we have therefore taken the liberty of detaching the churches from the circumjacent scenery. We are perhaps committing a double injustice, viz. both to the artist and the architect, when we criticize architecture in a disguise of picturesque; but having thus explained the source whence we have gained the following six views of churches, we leave our readers to receive them and our remarks, for as much as, under these circumstances, they are worth.

"The new church on Amberley Common, in the parish of Minchinhampton, was erected at the sole cost of David Ricardo, Esq., lord of the manor and patron of the advowson; and consecrated Sept. 1836. 'It is built,' continues Mr. Smith, with some naïveté, 'in the modern Gothic style, with school-rooms under its entire basement,



wherein a large number of children are taught on week days, and a still larger on Sundays; the interior of the church, to which an entrance is gained by an ascent of steps, is divided into three aisles by two rows of cast iron pillars; and in a recess is placed a marble altar, and stone altar-piece. The church measures 84 feet by 42, is without galleries, and will contain 800 persons. The adjoining parsonage was also built by the same munificent patron.' ”

As we are not concerned with the builder, but the building, we hope to be excused our seeming ungraciousness, in objecting to the general flatness of the structure, to the vast continuous surface of roof, to the difference of pitch in the roofs of the nave and the aisles, the church itself being made a second floor over a room of a *less sacred* character,\* and so not having entire possession of the site, to the triple lancet window, *proper* to an east end, being put over the west door, to the windows generally being those of the lancet kind exaggerated till they have lost all their peculiar grace.



“*Oakridge or Oaklynch.* This chapel of ease to Bisley was erected chiefly by the liberality and exertions of the present incumbent, the Rev. Thomas Keble, assisted by voluntary gifts; it was consecrated on the festival of St. Bartholomew, in 1837, and is dedicated to that saint. It is built on the skirts of Bisley Common, surrounded by a large and impoverished population, at a distance of several miles from their parish church. This chapel is built after the

architecture of the 13th century, with lancet windows, and intervening buttresses; it has a small chancel, tower and porch. Adjacent, is a parsonage and commodious school.”

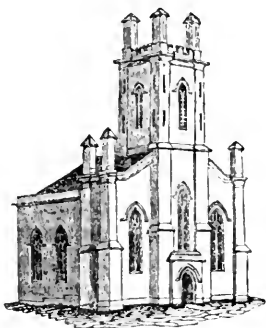
This is on the whole a very successful attempt to retain the ancient outlines and features of a rural church, tower, chancel and porch, all developed to their full proportions, without sacrifice of convenience and accommodation. Its simplicity, so well suited to the locality, is an agreeable contrast to the town-like affectation of many new country churches. Yet at the risk of seeming fastidious, we must confess that nothing can reconcile us to the squareness and lowness of the nave, as distinct from the chancel, and the modern Gothic windows, *i. e.* exaggerated lancet. The mullioned window in the west front of the tower, while it is an ornament to that part of the building, exposes still more

\* Somewhat better, however, than the wine and spirit vaults under the proprietary chapels in London.



the defect we have noticed in the windows of the nave. It is fair to explain that our cut of the tower of this church happens to be the most incorrect thing in our whole series. In Mr. Smith's drawing, the south wall of the tower stands quite clear of the body; our artist has also inadvertently deprived one of the corner buttresses of a third of its height, and diminished the size and elevation of the lower window in the tower.

"Pitchcombe Church is of modern structure, erected by the exertions of a former rector, on the site of a more ancient building: it has a tower, with an octangular chancel, and though ill proportioned, forms a pleasant object from the woodland scenery surrounding it."



We need scarcely stop to consider this heavy building, with its tower surrounded on three sides by the body of the church, its bastion-like buttresses, and as solid pinnacles; its accumulation of what was intended for ornament in the front, and nakedness and meagreness of the sides and east end.

"St. Matthews.—This church was erected by private subscription, on a site given for the purpose. It was consecrated on the festival of St. Matthew, 1835: is a district church, comprising, under the care of its resident minister, a population of about 1400 souls, heretofore very distant from their parish churches. The architecture is modern Gothic, and the fabric forms a central and pleasing object at the junction of the vales of Stonehouse and Redborough, being a well-proportioned tower, with pinnacles. The interior is divided into three aisles by light columns."



A large school-room and eligible parsonage and endowment has all been added by the munificence of Colonel Daubeney and others.

Here is, as usual, a Grecian temple, with a mere coating or rather veil of Gothic work thrown over it. The base of the

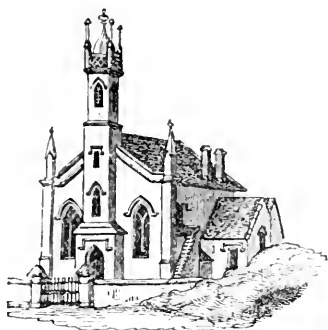
tower is almost hidden in the body, and the chancel is internally only a shallow recess. In the case of the latter, the architect, finding he had to give a Gothic effect to a broad and low gable end, and knowing no window that would answer his purpose, has endeavoured to effect it by introducing *three* of unequal size under a gable. Now, we hold that windows of one *daie* may be multiplied under one gable to any number, as in the "Five Sisters" at York; and in the east end of the Lady Chapel at Hereford, as in fact they constitute one window; but a window of two or more "*daies*" is in fact a system or combination of lancet windows, and must be regarded as so complete as not to allow of more than one being introduced when unity seems required, as in a portion of wall included under the space of one gable.

The architect, in the present instance, has given *plurality* where *unity* is above all required, viz. the east end of the church, and on the other hand, where we look for the idea of succession and *plurality*, viz. in the side view of the church, he has with equal impropriety recurred to the idea of unity, by making the two extreme compartments differ from the rest, and slightly project, so as to form two uniform wings. The side thus becomes a *front*, and the attention is drawn to its centre (which is only a centre architecturally), instead of being just slightly arrested by a porch at the south-west, or north-west, and then carried upwards without further interruption to the east end.

So far from it being a desirable object to *balance* a projection or door at the west end of the north or south elevations; we should say, that even if a door is found to be necessary at the eastern extremity of the sides, it ought to be made comparatively insignificant. Few things interfere with the Catholic plan of Churches, with the Catholic style of architecture, and with the picturesque effect of any style whatever, more than the notion of making every side of a building a uniform front. We are aware that strength is gained by breaking the line of the wall, every corner being virtually a buttress; but if that must be done, let the ins and outs be so arranged as to avoid uniformity rather than seek it. The building before us is not so flagrant an instance of this fault as many others, especially the new churches about the metropolis, some of which are quite quadrifrontal, *i. e.* presenting to every aspect a complete uniform façade. We consider that the balanced uniformity of the side view of St. George's at Windsor, is a symptom of degeneracy in the architecture of that gorgeous structure.

The new chapels of Sheepscombe and Slad, with schools and parsonages, in the parish of Painswick, were also built by private

munificence, in the midst of poor populations. "The former contains 550. The latter was consecrated in October, 1834. It contains a very handsome Gothic stone font, presented by a benevolent lady; has a gallery extending along the north side, and will contain about 300 persons." Sheepscote ex-



hibits, considering its small dimensions, a very fair allowance of improprieties. The ornamental features are all brought to the front: the south side, which comes into our drawing, with its sheds, chimnies, and long flight of steps, is evidently meant to be overlooked by the indulgent spectator. The pretty minaret which oddly surmounts the west entrance, is neither a tower nor a turret, having the shape of one and the dimensions of the other. In the interior, the west end must present the usual meeting house arrangement of a door and a window on each side, all included under the span of one roof. Slad Church, with its battlements, its gable divided into steps, the projections instead of buttresses at the corners, the three windows in the west front ranged according to the angle of the roof, and the centre one rising from the door-way, appears to be a still less graceful and regular structure.



As the nature of our subject has required us to exhibit the least interesting part of Mr. Smith's work, we feel bound, in taking leave of him, to express our admiration of his drawings of the old churches, and of his representations of the scenery of all.

Nothing can be fairer than the design of Mr. Hamilton's publication, and his statement of the reasons which have suggested it. He complains that many of the churches built throughout the country within the last few years "are almost entirely destitute of the ecclesiastical character and quiet soberness beautifully exemplified in the features even of the most simple of the old religious edifices." Foremost in the causes to which he ascribes "this unfortunate result," he notices—

"The almost uncontrolled management of the edifice being committed to men annually changed, and commonly chosen without refe-

rence to their qualifications for this part of their office. We may, without imputation," continues Mr. Hamilton, "presume the churchwarden to be desirous of avoiding, or at least of transferring to a successor, an outlay pressing, perhaps heavily, both on himself and on those whom he represents; and it is therefore not to be wondered at, that frequently mean structures have been reared, and persons have been elevated by the churchwardens to the architect's office, who would done themselves and their employers credit in the operative department, but whose misfortune it has been, from a principle of (mistaken) economy, to be injudiciously raised to a higher responsibility."—p. 3.

We quite agree with Mr. Hamilton, that many of those who have had to do with the building of churches, whether as architects, or as their employers and thus their judges and controllers, have proved themselves sadly unfit for that responsibility; but we suspect that, as a question of fact, clergymen and committees of gentlemen have had more to do with the matter than the poor churchwardens, at least in rural districts. These officers, so respectable and useful in their way, are seldom the originators of new churches, and are much too sensible of their want of architectural judgment to think of choosing plans, and overseeing an architect. Their betters unfortunately are not always so modest. It is a prevailing opinion, that though in most subjects a little information and practice is essential to a correct taste,—that no one is a good judge of a horse or a dog, a musical composition, or any piece of manufacture, without some study and experience, yet that any one of liberal education and with just eye enough to lay out a garden or furnish a parlour, must needs be also competent to superintend the building of a church. Other tastes must be sought with labour, and even then be acquired by few; but this is supposed to come of itself without asking.

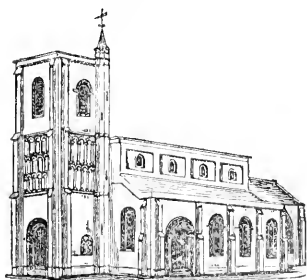
Mr. Hamilton is perhaps nearer the truth, when he observes that "one reason for his complaint is the fact that many churches have been designed without sufficient reference to the locality and circumstances." Unecclesiastical plans and proportions, he says, whose uncouthness has been but ill disguised by tawdry decoration in the architect's original designs, have been stripped for cheapness sake of that shallow disguise by rural committees, and set up in naked deformity. Yet who will deny that even when the professional man has had his full swing, the building is often painfully at variance with our notion of a village church,—utterly devoid of simplicity and genuineness?

The object of the work before us is "to take a middle position, and to offer something which might occupy a place in Parochial Church Architecture, equally removed from expensive ornament rising into exuberance, and excessive plainness, degenerating into

deformity." It is a collection of mere hints: the author makes no pretence to accuracy either in designs or estimates; and "has chosen an easy perspective style in preference to elaborate and less graceful geometrical elevations." The drawings, therefore, as he confesses, would be perfectly useless in the hands of a builder, if any should wish to build a church after any of them, which we cannot recommend. It is evident the author is under one fundamental error as to Gothic architecture, which has rendered his labour vain; he is not aware that it is an *exact science*. "Grecian sketches," he says with most amusing simplicity, "have been excluded, partly because they require a submission to the rules of art, which has been already disclaimed." There cannot be a greater mistake. Gothic architecture *appears* less formal and less regular than its ancient rival, only because it embraces *more* elements of calculation,—because it has *more* forms and rules of art. Gothic sketches without "submission to the rules of art," are like an attempt to persuade men of the truth of mathematical theorems by probable reasons, to oppose a skilful general without knowing anything of the art of war, or to preach without a pretence of theological learning. He who pretends to design a Gothic church, cannot escape submission to the rules of art; except, as the legend says, the architect of Cologne Cathedral did, by the use of preternatural agency. As might be expected from this extraordinary confession, the drawings before us are full of absurdities.

Yet the leading idea of Mr. H.'s suggestions is very sound and good. His main object is to substitute picturesqueness of form and grouping, for expensive and unsuitable decoration, the bane of modern churches. Thus he describes the modern country church as "externally only an insipid and alternate repetition of window and buttress, unrelieved by any of the bold projections essential to the beauty of an edifice, and presenting internally a chilly-looking enclosure glaring with light and whitewash." But the idea of his book, so good in itself, is most strangely followed up. He studies not variety but eccentricity of arrangement. Some of the least unaccountable of his combinations, are apparently borrowed from the irregular groups presented by old churches that have been increased and altered from age to age without regard to the original plan. Now, as we have above observed, nothing can be so picturesque, nothing has so strong an impress of antiquity, as a venerable pile, overgrown with aisles, porches, chantries, and chancels, almost hiding the original nave, and far surpassing it in proportions and decoration. Yet this cannot be imitated. We cannot make, at the word of command, by rule

and measure, a family or a village. Time only make them, and time only can make an ancient village church.



ing, affords an obvious precedent. A relic of this sort is a local tradition which it seems wise and pious to keep up. After Mr. Hamilton's disclaimer of scientific accuracy, it is perhaps almost superfluous to observe, that his windows and doors are far too large; that the ornamental work, with which he has surrounded them, are those usually confined to the interior; that the arches of his door-ways spring too high; that the slender buttresses and octangular corner turret of the tower belong to a much later style than Anglo-Norman, and that the pointed window in the chancel, which just makes its appearance, is equally unsuitable. For various other imperfections which an eye of taste will detect, our copy must be held responsible; an apology we here make once for all to our reader, and to the authors whom we have undertaken to introduce to him.



As a specimen of a modern church in this style, we give a rough copy from a very beautiful engraving of the new church at Colchester. It is built close to the well-known ruins of St. Botolph's Priory Church; a most picturesque pile of Roman brick, which seemed to dictate the style of any sacred building in its proximity. This church was demolished at the Reformation, and the site and possessions, together with other church property, given by Henry VIII. to Lord Chancellor

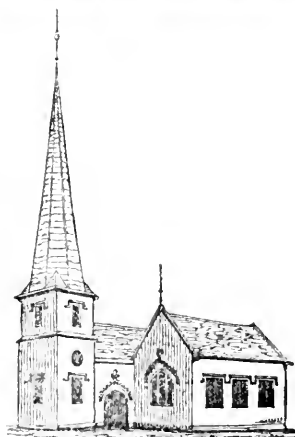
Audley. For three centuries there has been no church in this populous parish. The church before us, which is designed to be in some sort "a second temple," though it could hardly aim at

"the glory of the first," must yet be a very magnificent structure, if the drawing sent to us is to be trusted. There appear however to be some decided modernisms in the plan and proportions.

To return to Mr. Hamilton. We have seldom seen a more grotesque disposition of parts than the design, in which a sort of chancel is placed across a stunted nave, and the door is in the side of the tower. Surely it is possible to be original without departing so far from ancient usage and common sense.



We cannot say more of the design in which a side aisle, in the shape of a chapel, is made the chief feature; and the door, as in the last instance, is put exactly where one would least expect to find it, and is also much too large. We see neither the use nor the beauty of the large square windows in the steeple. Such a spire would demand buttresses, if not for strength at least for elegance.



Mere novelty is not originality. Many things have never been done, some things have not even been thought of, simply because they are unnatural and out of the way. True originality is a power of invention or discovery; but whether it be employed in the regions of science or of poetry, it only discovers or invents what is, in some sense, natural and true. It does not so much *make* new ideas, as *find* what have escaped the mind of others. It conceives ideas which strike us at once as having a sort of self-evident propriety and beauty. Its creations are at the same time like and unlike what we know already—like, in that they accord with our existent tastes and notions;—unlike, in that they seem each to have



an individual essence. Thus the structure before us cannot be called original though preposterous. Can Mr. Hamilton really imagine that there is a special suitableness to rural scenery in loading a small nave with two spires? The idea possibly is taken from the towers of Exeter Cathedral, which are its great defect. The windows of this design, considered in their connection with spires, are as new as the plan, and as unpicturesque.

But this is the general character of Mr. Hamilton's drawings. When they are novel they are not graceful; whatever grace or propriety they may have, it is only when they are not new. One is a chapel with its west front flanked by two porches, whose pent-house roofs, contrary to custom and every rule of taste, lean on the side walls of the chapel. Another is a cruciform church full of large windows, with a lofty spire at the intersection, rising out of the very roof. Another of similar form has a Tudor door, lancet windows, and a complicated structure in the midst, which cannot be described, except by saying that it is neither a tower nor a spire. It is only by such artifices as these that he escapes the common forms of dulness and inelegance, which otherwise abound in his drawings: broad roofs and light pinnacles, stunted chancels quite contradicting his own theory of bold projections, large windows without mullions, and with curves which no compass or any discoverable formula could ever describe. His ground plans are as objectionable; two passages being substituted for one main aisle whenever possible, and the altar almost surrounded with sittings. We only hope that the irregularities and eccentricities of these designs will not throw any discredit on the leading ideas of the work, viz. that there is a certain style of churches proper to rural districts, that this style is not, as some suppose, mere cheapness and baldness; and that it is generally best attained by a bold division into distinct and characteristic parts.

Yet within certain bounds, for a congregation of less than three hundred, we think it desirable, and very consistent with our ancient models, to retain the simplest form of a church. The simplest form and most primitive type of the classic or pagan style is a barn, which was the original of the temple. Whether this derivation be historically true, or merely an architectural theory, does not matter. The purer cultivation of that style in our days is entirely owing to the more frequent recurrence to its primitive type; which, till a few years back, had been almost lost sight of. The details of the style, that is its pillars and cornices, had been in universal use, without any reference to the original scheme or *rationale* of building in which they had first been used, and which alone gave them their propriety—we mean their poetical or ideal



propriety, for we are putting bare utility out of the question. But these details thus employed, i. e. used merely as ornaments, and in edifices constructed on a different scheme, were altered and corrupted. Nothing has conduced so much to the greater accuracy with which they are now used, as our greater familiarity with Grecian temples, even though we still use them in edifices of a very complicated and un-Grecian character.

Now we are inclined to hope that the same improvement will accrue to the Gothic or Catholic style, from a more frequent recurrence to its primitive or elementary type, which, like the type of the Grecian temple, is a barn, though with some important differences. The Grecian temple was constructed of large stones; its principle of strength was the perpendicular pressure; its roof and its general effect were flat and low. On the other hand, the Gothic oratory was composed of mere handfuls of stone; it stood by a balance of counteracting pressures; its roof and its general effect was high and pointed. They were both children of nature, but in different climates.

It is very probable that a simple oblong building was the nucleus of most of our churches, at least in rural districts. To this was afterwards added a tower and a chancel; but frequently the old church remains as the chancel, the nave being of later date. The side aisles were generally chantries, each with its own altar, added long after the nave. This addition of course required that the walls of the nave should give way to pillars and arches. The clerestory is generally of a still later date, and rendered necessary by the side aisles, being in fact the substitution of a row of windows with a flat roof, in place of the dark high-pitched roof of the old nave, whose traces are visible on the east wall of the tower in many churches. The porches are generally the latest part of the building, many having been added even after the Reformation, with a view of course to comfort.

It is true that our churches have generally been enlarged on a certain plan, it is true also that the main features of the plan existed before the foundation of a single extant English church; viz. in the nave, aisles, pillars, arches, and clerestory windows of the Basilicas, yet this does not alter the fact of the growth of our churches having been gradual and accidental, and does not render it improbable that if the first builders had had the means at their command, they would generally have made their barn-shaped structures large enough to supersede any addition for many ages. We do not therefore think it a real innovation on antiquity, to design a church by merely copying on a somewhat larger scale, the small churches and chancels of the early styles. In other

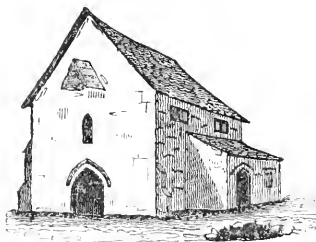
words, we do not think their straitened dimensions absolutely essential to their plan. Perhaps a slight alteration in the proportions will enable us to increase the size of a small Anglo-Norman or early English chancel enough to accommodate several hundreds. At least we think this better than attempting tower, aisles, clerestory, or chancel, and only doing it by halves, on a kind of shadowy make-believe scale.



By way of a rough model for imitation, we have taken from the *British Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 14, the drawing of a very simple and picturesque chapel, of which the following interesting and characteristic account is there given.

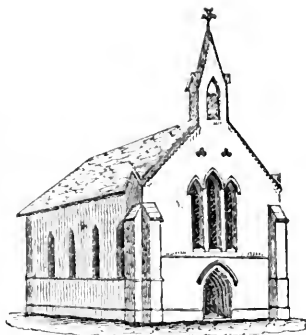
“Blackfordby has immemorially been a hamlet of Ashby; and its ecclesiastical endowments, with those of the latter, were given in A.D. 1145, to the abbey of Lilleshul, which retained them until the dissolution of religious establishments. Under the year 1220, it is recorded that the abbot of Lilleshul, who held the patronage of Ashby to his own use ‘*ab antiquo*,’ had also the chapel of Blackfordby, where divine service was performed three times in the week, from the mother church.

“The Marquis of Hastings is lord of the manor of Blackfordby, and patron of the living. On alternate Sundays, the vicar of Ashby does duty in the chapel, which is a very ancient structure, consisting of a nave and a chancel. The lancet windows, the old round font of stone, and the stand for an hour glass near the pulpit, are objects of interest. Originally its site must have been chosen on account of its secluded beauties and salubrity. It overlooks an extensive and luxuriant landscape, and rests upon a rock which pours forth a copious spring, whose waters were never known to freeze.”



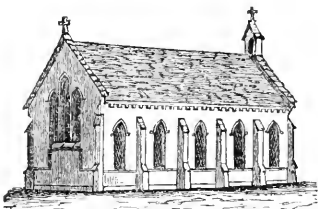
As another rough model to work upon, we offer a hasty sketch of the chapel of Adston, in Northamptonshire. It is of much later date than the last. Its interior dimensions are 33 by 17, with a very small aisle 6 feet 6 inches wide, opening to the nave with low but graceful arches. On the other side are two pointed windows with handsome tracery. The structure, simple and small as it is, possesses considerable dignity, from the height of the walls compared with the other proportions, from the high pitch of the roof, from several bold buttresses, and a few elegant curves and mouldings, and lastly, from the picturesqueness of its situation.

The new chapel at Duddon, parish Tarvin, Cheshire, which appears as the frontispiece of the *British Magazine*, July, 1835, is on the whole an elegant structure, on the simple model we have been recommending. We will here notice one great advantage of having walls of dignified elevation—the windows may, without being themselves curtailed, be placed so high as to prevent any roofs, chimneys, trees, or other such familiar objects, which may chance to be near the church, from obtruding themselves on the attention of the congregation. In the drawing before us we do not like the double buttress at the corner, and nowhere else; and we prefer to see the triple lancet reserved as the peculiar right of the east end.



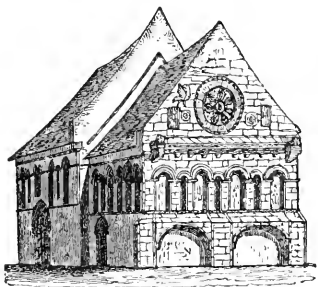
Pursuing the same direction, we give a sketch of a church, consecrated in 1836, at Littlemore, a hamlet to the parish of St. Mary the Virgin, at Oxford. The church is near the third milestone from that city, on the lower London road; and is the building to which probably Mr. Peter Maurice, Mr. Prebendary Townsend, and Miss Caroline Fry refer, when they allege that superstitious ceremonies are being revived. The architect has, we believe, taken the door, windows, &c. from St. Giles's Church, in that city, perhaps one of the best and most fertile studies for church builders in the kingdom. Its internal dimensions are 60 by 25, and near 40 in height. Its expense, including church yard fence, a very elaborate ornamental roof without tie beams, stone shingles instead of slate, a good deal of handsome stone-work, with many other things commonly considered superfluities, and all et ceteras, came within a thousand pounds. We will add, that though all the windows are of the true lancet proportions, yet owing partly to the height from the ground at which they are placed, and their recesses being properly bevelled, partly also to the happy circumstance of there being no gallery in their way, they give more than sufficient light to the very spacious interior.





We should say the windows recede too much from the external surface of the wall,\* which must also subtract from the depth of their internal recesses. The bell turret seems more successful than in the last instance.

In many instances the church consists of a nave and chancel, so nearly equal in breadth, height or even in length, that the one appears a mere continuation of the other. Sometimes the two are also so similar in style, that one would almost suppose them of the same date; but generally this form is to be considered the result of accident,



Of a somewhat similar plan is the interesting church of Fuglestone or Fulstone, adjoining the town of Wilton, and close to the road, about three miles from Salisbury. It is remarkable for



Somewhat similar to the above is the new chapel at Buckhold, in the parish of Bradfield, Berks, built after the designs of Mr. Sampson Kempthorne. From an original drawing before us, it appears to be a very graceful structure, though without the elevation of the last.

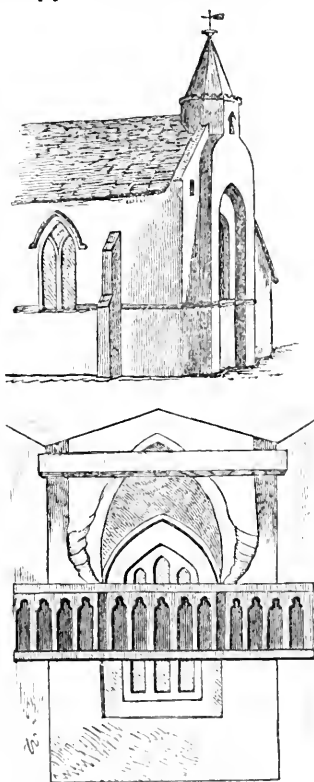
not of one harmonious design; yet the effect of this form is more agreeable than if the building had been kept at an exactly equal breadth and height from one end to the other. Such appears to be the plan of the very curious old church of Barfreston, Kent, of which a very beautiful engraving has been lately published, the profits to be applied to the expenses of its repair and restoration.

for having been George Herbert's church, and is far superior to the Chapel of Ease at Bemerton, two miles nearer Salisbury, where Herbert built the parsonage, and where it exists to this day, with divers unsightly additions by the hand of Archdeacon Coxe. In this case the elegant chancel was probably the original church. The nave appears to be of a much later date. Our wood-cut is copied from an en-

\* This peculiarity is not sufficiently expressed in our woodcut.

graving in the Rev. Peter Hall's Picturesque Memorials of Salisbury, a work which reflects the greatest credit on that gentleman's taste. The building is now being repaired and beautified;—we hope not injudiciously altered;—but our informant certainly saw *painted* windows in the side of the nave, with oak mullions, which were being encrusted with sand “to look like” stone. When will people learn to prefer realities to appearances!

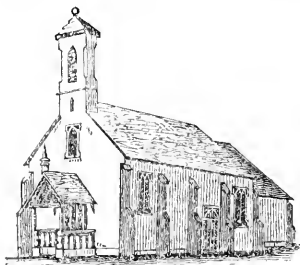
As the bell turret of this church is remarkable both for its form, and for the mode in which it is supported, and as these are both points of great perplexity in building churches of this class, we have, through the kindness of a friend, procured an outside and an inside view of the west end. From these, which do not pretend to more than hasty sketches, it appears that the west gable is increased at its apex to near treble its thickness, in order to support the turret in question. On the outside two piers project from the wall on each side the west window, and support an arch, on which rests one side of the octagonal turret. In the inside the turret appears to let down two roots of masonry standing out in relief on the wall, and terminating on both sides of the window at the spring of its arch. Both these contrivances are more ingenious than graceful; but though they are not to be imitated, they still may furnish some useful hints. They seem, by the way, to be a sort of mimicry, on a small scale, of the bold but complicated apparatus which poises in mid air the gigantic spire of the neighbouring cathedral.



We see that one convenience of the simplest form of church is, that it can be added to; it can be made either the chancel or the nave of a larger building. It must also be remembered, that with this view, viz. the prospect of enlargement, meanness and pettiness are very inexpedient. A little church, with a little tower and a little chancel, is like a man that is wise in his own

conceit; there is more hope of the simplest and rudest structure being improved, than of it.

Our next specimen is copied from the frontispiece of the *British Magazine* of December 1835. It is "a building suitable to the

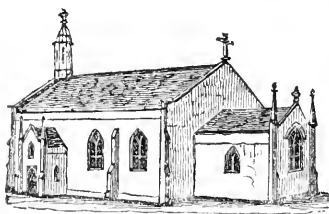


double purpose of a chapel and schoolhouse," at Leavenheath, Suffolk, and at the date of the account we refer to, had apparently just been finished, but was only used for the latter purpose, the endowment being as yet wanting. It looks pretty in the drawing, but must be sadly deficient in dignity. We do not like these buildings for both purposes, not even the late Bishop of Sodor

and Man's ingenious arrangement. They seem a pretence for making school-rooms serve for churches. The address, accompanying the engraving of this structure, says that owing to a late inclosure the population round it was rapidly increasing; but we fear it will not be easy to enlarge their Church according to that increase. The writer is somewhat over anxious to inform the public how cheaply churches may be founded; and with this view gives, with apparent cheerfulness, the following picture of hopeless pinching poverty.

"The estimate for the building was 268*l.*, but in this sum was included an outer furnace, and flue through the building covered with flag-stones. Without a gallery the building will hold 180 persons. It is internally 36 feet by 18 feet, 12 feet high to the wall plate; the chancel end is 10 feet by 12 feet. The foundation and walls are of brick, and the roof of tiles."

From an engraving, which we are informed gives a very incor-



rect and inadequate idea of the structure, we have taken St. Mary's Church, Redlynch, Downton, Wilts, a new Chapel of Ease in a populous district. The nave is 54 ft. by 29 in the clear. The chancel 18½ ft. by 17 ditto. Total number of sittings 420; of which 60 only are appropriated. A gal-

lery at the west-end contains about 100. Brick, Bath and Portland stone:—cost about 1,600*l.*, raised chiefly by voluntary contributions. We need scarcely say that the proportions of this church are not to our taste. The bell turret is not more successful than most other attempts to get over this difficulty. Would not the appearance of the building be much improved by a tower?

A very beautiful chapel has just been completed at Otterbourne, in the parish of Hursley, near Winchester, on a scale and in a style considerably above the usual run of modern village churches. We understand the Church is chiefly indebted for it to the zeal and taste of a gentleman of the place, whose example we trust will be followed by a few other squires. The interior is enriched with the finest works in wood and stone, partly collected, partly executed for this purpose. The exterior is of brick burnt blue, and stone windows, &c. the whiteness of which at present creates too strong a contrast with the other material. For the singular bell turret, we doubt not there is good precedent, as everything has been done with the utmost care; but to our eyes, as we see it in the exquisite lithograph before us, it seems too large and cumbrous. The porch also, if porch it be, at the west-end looks rather diminutive, especially when compared with its neighbour above. The shape is a cross with short arms.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

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MR. Gresley, in his Sermons on "Zeal and Moderation, preached before the University of Oxford" (Rivingtons), writes like a man who had something to say, which is one of the highest praises we can give a sermon. He understands that at the present moment a great problem lies before our Church, how to be what it *once was* without ceasing to be what *it is*, how to adapt primitive principles to existing circumstances without sacrificing the former or overshooting the latter. They are the sermons of an able and reflecting mind, which has attained to great truths and is consolidating its acquirements.

"Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, by the Rev. S. Wilberforce" (Burns), are eloquent and pleasing discourses on practical subjects, which must have been very effective in delivery; they abound in references to the Fathers, a style of preaching suited to, and which we are glad hereby to find sanctioned by, the learned body whom Mr. Wilberforce in these sermons represents.

A very beautiful and useful selection of Prayers and Meditations on the subject of the Holy Eucharist has been published by the Rev. S. Wilberforce, under the title of *Eucharistica*.

We are glad to find that a new edition of Dr. Field's *Book of the Church* is in the course of publication, in three volumes, 8vo., (Bohn), under the able editorship of Mr. Brewer.

The first number has appeared of one of the most important works of the day, *The New General Biographical Dictionary*, projected and partly arranged by the late Mr. Hugh James Rose, and edited by his brother, assisted by the contributions of many distinguished persons. It is no bad compliment to them to say the number before us was an agreeable surprise. We did not realize beforehand that it could be, at the same time, so comprehensive, and yet so interesting. We will particularize the lives of Abelard, Archbishop Abbott, and his brother, Lord Colchester, Abdel-Munen, and various other Mahometan Califs, Abernethy, Addison, Ælfric, and Adams, the Patriarch of Pitcairn's Island. The present work proposes to itself a middle plan between manuals and those voluminous biographies which are libraries in themselves; it must be observed, that from the nature of the case, every year takes away from the value of existing works of this class, and increases the call for new ones.

Mr. Benson has published "Discourses upon Tradition and Episcopacy" directed against persons whom he calls "Tractarians." He says the English Church "is *not only* constituted according to the Apostolic model, but it has enjoyed that blessing by *an unbroken succession* from the earliest times;" and that ministers in "Episcopal Churches" are by external call "clearly to be reckoned among the legitimate successors of the Apostles in their ministerial office." Had Mr. Benson but said this six years ago, when there was more call for it than at present, probably he would not be writing



against "Tractarians" now. He proceeds to enforce the evils of disunion, and, still, after the manner of the Tracts of the Times, he pleads necessity for the foreign Protestants (*vide* Dr. Pusey's Letter, p. 152, &c.), and for our dissenters at home the neglect of the Church (*vide* Tract 86). So far then Mr. Benson walks with the "Tractarians." He parts with them on the subject of Church authority. His theory of Church authority is this, that "every branch of the Christian Church upon earth *has a right* to form and enjoin on" its "members whatever it conceives" asserted or implied in Scripture, (p. 3,) and that those individual members on the other hand *have the right* of disobeying (pp. 4, 5), or partially obeying, according to their private judgment. Here is certainly implied the existence of a difference, not of view only, but of moral principle, between him and his opponents, which, as time goes on, will be more and more developed. It is the point at issue all over the world, that of submission to authority or independence. The question is, "are there any points on which persons are to submit to the authority of the Church before and apart from their own conviction?" The writers in the Tracts answer, Yes, on the points contained in the Creeds; but the ultra-protestants contend that every one must satisfy himself that every truth which he receives is contained in the Bible. Mr. Benson, speaking of the busy layman and unsettled labourer, says, "there must be no absolute surrender of the *reason* and conscience, which God has vouchsafed to be his guide." "*Every individual Christian is bound*, under a sense of the same awful responsibility, to resolve to teach nothing as a minister, and *accept nothing as a member of the Church*, but that which *he* is persuaded may be concluded and proved by Holy Writ." "It is a matter of consideration with *every man* to determine to what *particular community of professing believers* he will consent to attach himself or continue to belong." How melancholy are such statements! It is but the least fault of the principles contained in them that are so very unreal. If it be meant to extend to the doctrine of the Creeds, to which it properly relates, we are bound plainly to avow our conviction, grounded on experience, that it is tempting men to unbelief, to seek for wrong grounds of belief in a wrong spirit, to pull down their own house with their hands, with the foolish women in the Proverbs, in order to build it up with the fragments as best they may.

Mr. Mountain's "Summary of the Writings of Lactantius" (Rivingtons), is a useful analysis; but, we are obliged to add, the tone of divinity is far from Catholic; nay, far from Protestant, that is to say, if our Homilies may be considered such. For instance, the Homily says, "that merciful alms dealing is *profitable to purge the soul* from the infection or filthy spots of sin:" but our author speaks of it as the elements of the *fatal error* of Popery, "to speak of carnal sin as *purged away* by a course of good works," p. 80.

Reprints of several of Dr. Hook's works have been made in America, chiefly under the sanction of the well known Dr. Doane, Bishop of New Jersey.

We are glad to see that proposals have been put forward by Mr. Sherman of New York, for publishing, by subscription, "a Selection of the most inte-

resting and valuable among the Writings that have appeared within a few years in England, and which are commonly known under the name of the Oxford Theology." The plan embraces as many as six to eight volumes 8vo., of 554 pages each, which are to be completed in weekly issues.

Dr. Pusey's second edition of the first of his three Tracts on Baptism has at length made its appearance, and the size sufficiently accounts for the delay. It is the most complete book on the subject we have in the language; and is already almost out of print again. His object seems to have been to bring together all that Scripture directly teaches concerning Baptism, and to show how this was understood by the early church, and in consequence how much higher a doctrine Scripture contains than is commonly supposed.

The Oxford Translations of St. Augustine's Confessions, and St. Cyril's Catechetical Lectures, have reached a second edition. The first edition consisted of 1500 copies. A volume of St. Chrysostom's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles is on the point of publication.

"The Listener in Oxford" (Seeley and Burnside) observes, that "Evangelical religion has been the fashion; the tide is turned;" that "life is not long enough to examine all that we must receive or reject;" that "the religion of Christ is unchanged from the beginning;" that "it has never had so much as a new dress;" that "the Lamp that illuminates" the Door, "is not removable." This is good Catholic language; but alas! the illusion is soon broken; the Listener confesses she is speaking against such a "Goliath" as "Southcote, Irving, or Pusey." Though a "*Listener* in Oxford," she says she "cannot speak personally of the present men," but she does know "how far from holiness such leaders usually are, how arrogant, how restless, how insubmissive and disorderly, how confident and boastful of themselves, how irascible and impatient of contradiction;" and she asks, "do these Oxford theologians believe in the Holy Spirit's agency at all in carrying on the work of salvation?" We would put it to a religious woman, is not all this random imputation against individuals whom she does not know, a sort of "bearing false witness against her neighbour?" People in their zeal forget this.

Dr. Hawley's work on "Genuine Christianity" (Lindsay, Edinburgh), begins with what we are obliged to call a dangerous principle, that Christian evidence and Christian doctrine are subjects "altogether distinct from each other," and that "the great principle, the division of labour" must "be applied" to theology; and defends it by the instance of Sir I. Newton, who, though a thorough believer in revelation, has been at length ascertained to have given "credit to the Arian heresy." We are sorry to find a speculation put forward, p. 60, which can only be *consistently* maintained by Sabellians or Nestorians, viz. that as the Word is incarnate in this world, so probably the "Supreme God rules every world He has made by an *emanation from Himself*, united with the highest intellectual being who inhabits that world." Hence he talks of "the Christ of each world." We are the more concerned at this, for the work is written in a tone of seriousness and earnestness, and contains express and satisfactory statements of the doctrine of the Trinity.

"Charlotte Elizabeth" has written some sentimental and dreamy pieces called "Glimpses of the Past," (Seeley and Burnside), and has been ambitious enough to introduce "the Reformation Society," "Protestantism," and the glorious '83, with a view of making *them* sentimental, dreamy, and poetical also. Protestantism takes the shape of King William on horseback in College Green, and the "innocent statue" is spoken of in a way to make us fear that sentiment was compromising Protestantism. Old Foxe is drawn writing his history "in a soft sheltered valley, where gurgles a pure spring, overhung with fair trees, from whose branches depend many a cluster of ripened fruit." "There he rests and ponders." The authoress has a little dog called Fidelle, which sneezes "most piteously" at a snuff-box; and she has sweet flowers which "a young minister calls her painted idols." She recounts her own experience; and makes mention of a house where "it was one of the special privileges allowed her to take every day a glass of wine actually made from the grapes that grew on the mountain of Lebanon."

The second edition of "A Text-book of Popery," by John Mockett Cramp, (Wightman), has in view especially "many influential members of the Protestant University of Oxford." It professes, according to the title-page, to give "a brief history of the Council of Trent," and "a complete view of Roman Catholic Theology." The "history" may be serviceable and the "view" is innocuous.

We have received what calls itself "The *Church* Edition of the authenticated Report of the Discussion between the Rev. T. D. Gregg and the Rev. T. Maguire." Mr. Gregg came forward under the benediction and "God-speed" of "a *very large body* of the Clergy of the Established Church from *all parts* of Ireland," headed by the Archdeacon of Derry; who, without "identifying themselves with him in the controversy," still "felt bound to present him an assurance of their regard and prayers, commending him to God as a brother minister of their Church." This, it will be observed, was before the controversy. We do really think, now that they know what it has turned out, our brethren ought to clear themselves from all participation in so unchristian a contest. Never did we look into so unholy a book, not written by a professed libertine or scoffer. To take one of the merely vulgar specimens: "Away with your wretched sophistry;" the Protestant champion says to his opponent; "Pray, how much salt would it take to make a hogshead of holy water! . . . Now come, pray do, like a worthy priest of Belial as you are, do tell us how many holy candles it would take to drive away the devils that tempt a poor Irishman to get drunk! . . . Now salt-blessor! . . . I shall condescend to instruct you. Come, then, to my knee, thou mass-priest, and learn wisdom." Is this the style of St. Paul or Luther?

"Seals of the Covenant of Grace, by J. J. Cummins" (Seeley and Burnside), is a little work in recommendation of one of the coldest doctrines we know; that the office of the Sacraments is but to represent and pledge to us the blessings of redemption. We can understand persons being warmed and carried away by the doctrine of justification by mere faith; but to those who, having faith, have the *substance* of salvation, how impotent is the sacramental *figure*!

what need we to be assured externally of what we already feel inwardly? and what assurance is there in a *sign* without, which is supposed to have no *sense* till interpreted by an assurance within? Either the Sacraments convey grace or they convey a cold comfort.

How melancholy to find an intelligent traveller like Mr. Fellowes deliberately publishing, in his "*Journal of an Excursion in Asia Minor*" (Murray), such a fanatical sentence as the following, "in architecture and in sculpture the cross is a brand always attended by deformity in proportion and total want of simplicity in ornament."—p. 169. Elsewhere he talks of temples "dedicated to *nominal* Christianity."—p. 288. He is enthusiastic in praise of the Turks; becomes "sincerely attached to their manners, habits, and character;" "to their truth, honesty, kindness," and "devotion to their religion." "Prayer is with them universal." "Every one pursues his own devotions, independently of a priesthood, which here does not exist, with perfect simplicity and without ostentation."—p. 294. On the other hand, he speaks of "the early Christians" as he might of "the early Egyptians," or "the Aborigines" of America, or fossil elephants or elks, beings with whom he can have no possible connexion; yet he shows no signs of being what would commonly be called an irreligious man,—the contrary.

Mr. Bickersteth's "*Book of Private Devotions*," or "*Collection of Devotions of the Reformers and their Successors*" (Seeley and Burnside), embraces under this title the prayers of Bishop Andrews, Archbishop Laud, Bishop Cosin, Bishop Kenn, Bishop Taylor, and Bishop Hicks. We were particularly pleased to find the compiler saying in his preface, that "he has from no book of devotions derived more personal advantage than from Bishop Andrews' Devotions." May he induce many to seek a like benefit from them!

"*Light shining out of Darkness*, by Rev. A. Roberts" (Nisbet), is the production of a thoughtful and reverential mind. It takes the form of a work of evidence drawn from the internal characteristics of the four Gospels; but this is only its form. It is really a thankful and edifying contemplation of the tokens they contain that a Divine Presence was with the writers, and an attempt to realize the scenes and to hold communion with the deeds and feelings, of which they are the record.

There is great deal apposite and pleasing in Mr. Woodward's "*Shunammite, a Series of Lectures on 2 Kings, iv. 11—17*" (Duncan and Malcolm), (e. g. vid. his remarks on the sanctity of St. Mary,) but we suppose his religious sentiments differ a good deal from those which we should feel it right to maintain.

A new edition has been published of Sir J. Stonehouse's "*Sick Man's Friend*" (Washbourne), a little book which, with a great deal which is good and useful, discovers a very low tone of theology and deplorably deficient views upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

We particularly recommend to our readers "*Hymns, translated from the Parisian Breviary by the author of the Cathedral*," (Livingtons). They are very

beautiful, though as being detached from the services to which they belong, they are like Gothic cornices or finials torn from a church.

“Preparations for a Holy Life” (Hodson) is a convenient pocket selection of prayers and meditations answering to its title.

Archdeacon Todd has published a brief but pleasing “Selection from Sandys’ Metrical Paraphrases of the Psalms, Job, &c.” (Rivingtons.)

Mr. Burgh’s Sermon on Antichrist, with an Appendix,” (Holdsworth), is intended to show that Rev. xiii. does not apply to Rome Papal, and exposes some grievous mistakes of facts in Mr. McNeile’s historical proof that the Pope is Antichrist.

Dr. Duff, in his “Missions the chief end of the Christian Church” (Johnston, Edinburgh,) confesses and laments, what Mr. O’Connell has lately urged, that Protestantism, since its first burst, has lost its *expansiveness*.

We observe with much satisfaction that a theological controversy is opening between Mr. O’Connell and the Wesleyans. This is as it should be. They owe us a stand-up fight with the Romanists; and they could not possibly sit down under his rude attack on their founder.

We suppose the Correspondence between some Clergymen of Ripon and Lord Londonderry falls under the head of theological literature, and may be mentioned here. Not that a few words can do justice to it; but we do not like to omit expressing our thanks to the clergymen who took part in it. The church knows no difference between men of peace and men of war, noble and peasant. “The kings of the earth and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men,” must all bow down before her, and dutifully obey. It is no favour in Lord Londonderry to defend her with the sword, but a high privilege. The only drawback on our satisfaction in this proceeding is, that it was not a bishop who addressed him.

The “British Association” has celebrated its annual meeting at Birmingham, and under circumstances which show that the anticipation of its imminent declension, expressed by us in a recent number, are rapidly fulfilling. But we allude to the meeting, not for the purpose of mentioning this fact, but to show how far the dangerous tendencies of the body in question have now developed themselves. We would speak in blame of no individual—we censure systems—and strange must be the working of an institution which can lead a reverend president of the association, even in the act of formally defending its religious character, to assert that even the facts “that all men are the children of one human father and the handiwork of one Almighty God,” would not be supported by evidence sufficient to claim the belief of this enlightened age without the testimony brought forward to sustain them by recent physical researches. We quote from the *Athenæum*, which may, and we would fain hope does, in some degree misrepresent the reverend speaker. We would fain hope that we ourselves misunderstood the report, but the following extracts will enable our readers, on this latter point, to judge for themselves.

“Scripture . . . . does provide for us, and has evidently aimed at providing for us, from the earliest times to the present hour, the knowledge of two facts;

that all men are the children of one human father, and the handiwork of one Almighty God. . . . . And what, gentlemen, is the common quality of these two facts? Are they not the very facts on which the system of human duty subsists, on which humanity and piety depend?

“ These truths, gentlemen, nursed for a thousand years in the ancient Scriptures of the Jews, led forth into new day and with new accessions of the same kind of knowledge by our holy religion, have walked through the world, and been believed alike by the ignorant and the wise, before our sciences were born; and here observe the method and the course of Providence; how, as in process of years the current of traditionary belief runs weaker,—how, as the advance of human intellect looks for other kinds of proof, the arts and sciences come in to support these essential truths; printing gives them stability and extension, optics and astronomy pour in an infinity of evidence, comparative anatomy brings up its convictions, and geology subdues the sceptical mind with hitherto unimagined demonstrations.

“ And now, gentlemen, we are in a condition to draw an inductive conclusion, and even to hazard a prediction. We may safely predict that truths thus firmly established by evidence, will never be shaken by the researches of that reason which has hitherto lent them all its support; &c.”—*Athenæum*, No. 618, p. 654.

The association, it would seem, if the above be indeed an official declaration of its sentiments—feels that it has at last arrived at the happy period in which—whatever else may be doubted—these two simple tenets may be considered as irrefragably and definitely established. Such are the arduous points which it has at length attained, in the midst of a land long blessed with the full light of Christianity;—such the discoveries for which its labourers, in the conclusion of the speech under comment, are told to look for “ the approbation and the blessing of the great Father of Truth.”

# NEW WEEKLY LITERARY JOURNAL.

ON SATURDAY MORNING, THE SECOND OF NOVEMBER, WILL BE PUBLISHED,

THE FIRST NUMBER

OF

“THE EUROPEAN,”

A WEEKLY JOURNAL

OF THE

PROGRESS OF SOCIETY, LITERATURE, THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.

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  5. A General Bibliography for the Week, containing the Titles, &c. of all Literary and Scientific Works of importance published in Europe and its Colonies, and in the United States of America, as they respectively appear.
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